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THE FIRST MILESTONE

With this number we begin the second year of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY and the second volume of its REVIEW. It is fitting that we pause for a moment to survey the past and consider the future. Our undertaking was begun at an inauspicious time when thoughts and activities were centered on the War and when prohibitive prices of paper and printing made publication seem almost foolhardy. Nevertheless there were many reasons that prompted us; there was the centenary of Illinois Statehood and the interest in State history, stimulated by that event, and then there was the almost total absence of the Catholic note in that history. This last perhaps gave the final impetus to the formation of our SOCIETY and the publication of our REVIEW.

With all modesty we can say that our efforts have been fairly successful, even beyond our expectations, for today we number over six hundred members and we have circulated over twelve hundred copies of each issue of our REVIEW. This success has been primarily due to the financial support of life members and the generous donations of friends, and also to the self-sacrificing contributors who gave their work without compensation.

Much still remains to be done for the cause of Catholic history in Illinois. May donors, contributors and subscribers continue their interest and may new friends be added to our ranks during the coming year. We wish to be bigger and better at the Second Milestone.

FREDERIC SIEDENBURG, S. J.

THE FRENCH IN ILLINOIS

I. DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

It is usual in approaching the narration of a historic event to, as it were, establish a back-ground by a recital of facts and circumstances leading up to it. Following that routine, it would be appropriate for me to go into more or less detail with respect to the coming of the French to Canada, their settlements along the St. Lawrence and upon the Lakes and the excursions of their traders. It should be sufficient here, however, to note that the French had a settled government in Canada, and that the voyages of discovery undertaken by Jolliet, Marquette and La Salle were the result of official acts of that and the home government, distinct records of which were made and are preserved to the present day, by reason of which there can be no question or doubt raised as to the authenticity of their work.[1]

Because of changes in names, some comment upon the geography of these early days is essential to a complete understanding of the early voyages. It is important to know that Michillimackinac,[2] where Father Marquette was stationed before starting on his memorable voyage of discovery, was at the most northern point of Lake Michigan and just where Lake Michigan joins Lake Huron and is now known as Mackinac; that Green Bay lies to the west of the northern end of Lake Michigan and that the Fox River empties into the southernmost extremity of Green Bay.

---

[1] Jacques Cartier discovered Canada July 7, 1534; sailed up the St. Lawrence River in 1535 and reached the sites of Quebec and Montreal. Samuel de Champlain settled in Canada in 1608 and founded Quebec that year. At his request the Franciscan Recollects came to Quebec in 1615. The Jesuits came in 1625 and the Sulpicians in 1657. Champlain died December 25, 1635. François de Montmorency Laval was made bishop and Vicar Apostolic of New France in 1659. By 1672 there were besides the religious establishments in Quebec, twenty-five churches in Canada each with a resident priest. It was after Canada progressed thus far that Jean Talon the Intendant of Canada selected Louis Jolliet a native of Canada, and his superiors selected Father James Marquette, S. J., to go upon the voyage which resulted in the discovery of the Mississippi River and Illinois.

[2] The mission of St. Ignace was located at Michillimackinac, now Mackinac.

On the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, 1672,[3] Louis Jolliet[4] arrived at Michillimackinac with orders of the Comte de Fontenac[5] and Governor Talon[6] to apprise the Jesuit Missionary of the place, James Marquette,[7] of the commission entrusted to them jointly to explore for the Mississippi River and the lands adjacent thereto, and it was from this mission that the little band of explorers began their momentous journey May 17, 1673.[8]

Viewing the map, it will be seen that it was necessary for them to skirt the northern end of the lake, pass into and through the length of Green Bay, up the Fox River to its source and from there carry their canoes and supplies to the Wisconsin River, out of which they pushed their little barks on June 17 into the great father of waters—the long-sought river of dreams.[9] The site of this first point of entrance to the Mississippi by white men has since been marked by the early settlement, then town, and now city of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.

This voyage of discovery has been made quite familiar by reports and descriptions of many writers, but no narrative of the journey is more interesting than that penned by Father Marquette himself.[10]

---

[3] Marquette's account of his first voyage, Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 58, 89.

[4] Louis Jolliet, born at Quebec, September 21, 1645, died in Canada, May, 1700; attended Jesuit school at Quebec and received minor orders in 1662. Made many explorations of discovery, the most notable of which was that with Father Marquette in 1673 when they discovered the Mississippi River and Illinois.

[5] Louis de Baude Comte de Frontenac, born at Paris, 1622, died at Quebec, November 28, 1698. Was governor of New France, 1672 to 1682, and again from 1689 to his death in 1698.

[6] Jean Baptiste Talon, born at Chalons-sur-Marne, 1625, died at Versailles, November 23, 1691. A favorite of Cardinal Mazarin. Appointed by Louis XIV Intendant of Canada, March 23, 1655, served to 1668, reappointed in 1670, returned to France in 1672.

[7] Father James Marquette, S. J., born at Laon, France, June 10, 1637, came to Quebec September 20, 1666, died near present site of Ludington, Michigan, May 18, 1675. His remains were transferred two years later and buried in the mission chapel near Point St. Ignace. There they were discovered September 3, 1877, by V. R. Fr. E. *Jacker*. The monument erected there covers part of his remains. The larger portions are in Marquette College, Milwaukee.

[8] Marquette's account, Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 59, 91.

[9] Marquette's account, Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 59, 107.

[10] When on the return voyage Marquette and Jolliet got as far as Sturgeon Bay (off the coast of Green Bay in Wisconsin) Father Marquette stopped at the Jesuit Mission House of St. Francis Xavier which had been built by Father Claude Jean Allouez in the winter of 1671-72 and Jolliet went on to Quebec to report to the Governor. Jolliet's journal was lost when his boat capsized in the

At the very outset of his journey, long before reaching the Mississippi, amongst the first people he met the "Wild Oats" Indians. Father Marquette made plain his purpose; he says "I informed these people . . . of my design of going to discover distant nations to instruct them in the mysteries of our Holy Religion." Those Indians warned the good priest of the dangers which beset such a journey. "They told me that I would meet nations that never spare strangers, but tomahawk them without any provocation; that the war which had broken out among various nations on our route exposed us to another evident danger—that of being killed by the war parties which are constantly in the field." And they sought to inspire in him the superstitious fears they themselves entertained. They told him "the great river is very dangerous, unless the difficult parts are known; that it was full of frightful monsters who swallowed up men and canoes together; that there is even a demon there who can be heard from afar who stops the passages and engulfs all who dare approach."[11]

To all this Father Marquette gave the answer that was the key to all the efforts of the missionary: "I thanked them for their kind advice, but assured them that I could not follow it, as the salvation of souls was concerned; that for them I should be too happy to lay down my life."[12]

The subsequent experience of this gentle priest disproved all the dire forebodings of the "Wild Oats" Indians, at least so far as Marquette and Jolliet were concerned. Instead of the hostilities of the Indian tribes with which they were threatened, they were received with the highest marks of respect, as will be seen as the narrative continues.

Lachine Rapids, and he was able to give only an oral report. At the Mission of St. Francis Xavier Father Marquette wrote a narrative of the journey and sent it to his superior. An abridged copy was sent to Paris, and there published by Melchisidec Thevenot in 1681. When the Jesuits were banished in 1763 the original manuscript containing the accounts of Marquette's first and second voyages were deposited in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. John Gilmary Shea, the Catholic historian, found them there and translated and published them in 1852. In 1899 Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites procured a loan of the original documents from Father Arthur Edward Jones, S. J., (who died January, 1918), made a new translation and published both the French and English translations in *Jesuit Relations*, volume 59.

[11] Marquette's account, Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 59, 95. Some differences will be noted in the wording in the text and that found in the *Jesuit Relations*. This is due to the fact that the text quotes another translation which is less accessible than the *Jesuit Relations*. The latter is therefore cited.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

When the explorers arrived at the village of the Maskoutens, the farthest point to which the French had penetrated up to that time, the representative of the civil government thought fit to announce the purpose of their journey. Continuing with his narrative, Father Marquette says: "No sooner had we arrived than M. Jollyet and I assembled the sachems; he told them that he was sent by our governor to discover new countries, and I by the Almighty to illumine them with the light of the gospel; that the Sovereign Master of our lives wished to be known by all nations, and that to obey his will, I did not fear death, to which I exposed myself in such dangerous voyages."[13]

The experience of these lonely first white visitors upon the Mississippi, and the impression made upon them, is most interesting. We can well imagine how they felt as we read Father Marquette's description of their progress. Says he: "We advanced constantly, but as we did not know where we were going, having already made more than a hundred leagues without having discovered anything but beasts and birds, we kept well on our guard. Accordingly, we would make only a little fire on the shore at night to prepare our meal, and after supper keep as far off from it as possible, passing the night in our canoes, which we anchored in the river pretty far from the bank. Even this did not prevent one of us being always as a sentinel for fear of a surprise."[14]

First White Men in Iowa

But their fears were really groundless; at least so far as the Indians were concerned. As appears from the narrative, they soon came upon evidences of habitation. Father Marquette says that "on the 25th of June we perceived foot-prints of men by the water side and a beaten path entering a beautiful prairie. We stopped to examine it, and concluding that it was a path leading to some Indian village, we resolved to go and reconnoitre. . . . We followed the little path in silence, and having advanced about two leagues, we discovered a village on the banks of the river, and two others on a hill, half a league from the former. Then, indeed, we recommended ourselves to God, with all our hearts, and, having implored His help, we passed on undiscovered and came so near that we even heard the Indians talking. We then deemed it time to announce ourselves, as

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 105.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

we did by a cry which we raised with all our strength, and then halted without advancing any farther. At this cry the Indians rushed out of their cabins, and having probably recognized us as French, especially seeing a black gown, or at least having no reason to distrust us, seeing we were but two, and had made known our coming, they deputed four old men to come and speak with us." After introductions, as we would now say, and the exchange of the peace pipe, Father Marquette says that when they came near to the chief in the door of his wigwam "he paid us this compliment: 'How beautiful is the sun, O Frenchman, when thou comest to visit us. All our town awaits thee, and thou shalt enter all our cabins in peace.' He then took us into his tent where there was a crowd of people who devoured us with their eyes, but kept a profound silence. We heard, however, these words occasionally addressed to us: 'Well done, brothers, to visit us.'"

After visiting and feasting some days, the old chief bade them good-bye in the quaint language described by Marquette: "I thank thee, Blackgown, and thee, Frenchman," addressing M. Jolliet, "for taking so much pains to come and visit us; never has the earth been so beautiful, nor the sun so bright as today; never has our river been so calm, nor so free from rocks, which your canoes have removed as they passed; never has our tobacco had so fine a flavor, nor our corn appeared so beautiful as we behold it today. Here is my son, that I give thee, that thou mayst know my heart. I pray thee take pity on me and all my nations. Thou knowest the Great Spirit who has made us all; thou speakest to him and hearest his word: ask him to give me life and health, and come and dwell with us, that we may know him."[15]

This remarkable visit to our sister state Iowa, the first no doubt ever made by white men, has been immortalized by Longfellow in his "Song of Hiawatha". Describing Father Marquette's approach and his visit, the poem runs:

HIAWATHA WELCOME

It was neither goose nor diver,
Neither pelican nor heron,
O'er the water floating, flying,
Through the shining mist of morning,
But a birch canoe with paddles,
Rising, sinking on the water,
Dripping, flashing in the sunshine;
And within it came a people

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 115-117-119.

REV. JAMES MARQUETTE, S. J.
Discoverer and founder of the Church in Illinois.

RENE ROBERT
CAVELIER SIEUR DE LA SALLE
Explorer and first colonizer of Illinois

LOUIS JOLLIET
Discoverer with Marquette of Illinois

HENRY DE TONTY
Able associate of La Salle and efficient first governor of Illinois.

THE DISCOVERERS AND EXPLORERS OF ILLINOIS

From the distant land of Waubun,
From the farthest realms of morning
Came the Black-Robe chief, the Prophet,
He the Priest of Prayer, the Pale-face,
With his guides and his companions.

And the noble Hiawatha,
With his hands aloft extended,
Held aloft in sign of welcome,
Waited, full of exultation,
Till the birch canoe with paddles
Grated on the shining pebbles,
Stranded on the sandy margin,
Till the Black-Robe chief, the Pale-face,
With the cross upon his bosom
Landed on the sandy margin.

Then the joyous Hiawatha
Cried aloud and spake in this wise:
"Beautiful is the sun, O strangers,
When you come so far to see us!
All our town in peace awaits you,
All our doors stand open for you;
You shall enter all our wigwams,
For the heart's right hand we give you.
"Never bloomed the earth so gayly,
Never shone the sun so brightly,
As to-day they shine and blossom,
When you come so far to see us!
Never was our lake so tranquil,
Nor so free from rocks and sand-bars;
For your birch canoe in passing
Has removed both rock and sand-bar.
Never before had our tobacco
Such a sweet and pleasant flavor,
Never the broad leaves of our cornfields
Were so beautiful to look on,
As they seem to us this morning,
When you come so far to see us!"

And the Black-Robe chief made answer,
Stammered in his speech a little,
Speaking words yet unfamiliar:
"Peace be with you, Hiawatha,
Peace be with you, and your people,
Peace of prayer, and peace of pardon,
Peace of Christ, and joy of Mary!"

Then the generous Hiawatha
Led the strangers to his wigwam,
Seated them on skins of bison,
Seated them on skins of ermine,

From the distant land of Waubun,
From the farthest realms of morning
Came the Black-Robe chief, the Prophet,
He the Priest of Prayer, the Pale-face,
With his guides and his companions.

And the noble Hiawatha,
With his hands aloft extended,
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Peace be with you, and your people,
Peace of prayer, and peace of pardon,
Peace of Christ, and joy of Mary!"

Then the generous Hiawatha
Led the strangers to his wigwam,
Seated them on skins of bison,
Seated them on skins of ermine,

And the careful, old Nokomis
Brought them food in bowls of basswood,
Water brought in birchen dippers,
And the calumet, the peace-pipe,
Filled and lighted for their smoking.

All the old men of the village,
All the warriors of the nation,
All the Jossakeeds, the prophets,
The magicians, the Wabenos,
And the medicine-men, the Medas,
Came to bid the strangers welcome;
"It is well," they said, "O brothers,
That you come so far to see us!"

In a circle in the doorway
With their pipes they sat in silence,
Waiting to behold the strangers,
Waiting to receive their message;
Till the Black-Robe chief, the Pale-face,
From the wigwam came to greet them,
Stammering in his speech a little,
Speaking words yet unfamiliar;
"It is well," they said, "O brother,
That you come so far to see us!"

Then the Black-Robe chief, the prophet,
Told his message to the people,
Told the purport of his mission,
Told them of the Virgin Mary,
And her blessed Son, the Savior,
How in distant lands and ages
He had lived on earth as we do;
How He fasted, prayed, and labored;
How the Jews, the tribe accursed,
Mocked Him, scourged Him, crucified Him;
How He rose from where they laid Him;
Walked again with His disciples,
And ascended into heaven.

And the chiefs made answer, saying:
"We have listened to your message,
We have heard your words of wisdom,
We will think on what you tell us.
It is well for us, O brothers,
That you come so far to see us!"

Then they rose up and departed
Each one homeward to his wigwam,
To the young men and the women
Told the story of the strangers
Whom the Master of Life had sent them
From the shining land of Wabun.

Indian Hobgoblins

Space will not permit us to dwell at length on this first voyage of discovery along our shores and through our land. It is well known that the good priest and his companions were accorded a similar reception at all the points where they stopped. It is interesting to remember that as they passed down the river and reached the point of confluence of the Missouri with the Mississippi, they discovered the source of the roaring which so frightened the childish Indian mind,[16] and that upon the rocks opposite what is now the city of Alton, they saw the painted figures that appealed to the Indians as demons in what has since been known as the Piasa;[17] that they pursued their journey until on the 17th of July they had reached the village of the Arkansas, where they learned from the Indians that they were but a few days' journey from the sea—the Gulf of Mexico,—when, "M. Jollyet and I," says Father Marquette, "held another council to deliberate on what we should do, whether we should push on, or rest satisfied with the discoveries we had made. After having attentively considered that we were not far from the Gulf of Mexico, the basin of which is 31 degrees 40 minutes north, and we at 33 degrees and 40 minutes, so that we could not be more than two or three days' journey off. . . . All these reasons induced us to resolve to return. . . . We accordingly ascended the Mississippi which gave us great trouble to stem its current. We left it, indeed, about the 38th degree, to enter another river which greatly shortened our way, and brought us with little trouble to the Lake of the Illinois."[18]

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[16] This was nothing more than the noise of the rushing waters of the Missouri River emptying into the Mississippi. See Marquette's description Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 59, 141.

[17] The piasa was a representation of a bird-beast-reptile painted on the high rocks opposite what is now Alton. See as to this wierd and fantastic figure, paper by Clara Kern Bayliss, "The Significance of the Piasa," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1908, p. 114. Father Marquette thus describes these figures: "While skirting some rocks, which by their height and length inspired awe, we saw upon one of them two painted monsters which at first made us afraid, and upon which the boldest savages dare not long rest their eyes. They are as large as a calf; they have horns on their heads like those of a deer, a horrible look, red eyes, a beard like a tigers, a face somewhat like a man's, a body covered with scales and so long a tail that it winds all around the body, passing above the head and going back between the legs, ending in a fish's tail." Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 59, pp. 139-141.

[18] Marquette's account of first voyage, Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 59, p. 159.

Here, Father Marquette has reference to the Illinois River, and it was with his entrance to the mouth of the Illinois that the more particular exploration of our state began. It is somewhat remarkable that the abundance of the Illinois country was the first thing to strike Father Marquette's attention. Speaking of the country, he says: "We had seen nothing like this river for the fertility of the lands, its prairies, woods, wild cattle, stag, deer, wild oats, bustards, swans, parrots, and even beaver; its many little lakes and rivers."[19]

The first stop recorded by these early travelers was at the village of the Peoria Indians, located near the site of the present city of Peoria. He says: "I was three days there, announcing the faith in all their cabins, after which as we were embarking, they brought me on the water's edge a dying child, which I baptized a little before it expired, by an admirable Providence for the salvation of that innocent soul."[20] This was, so far as known at least, the first time a Christian rite was ever administered on the soil of Illinois.

Proceeding further up the river, they visited the Kaskaskia tribe, which, as is now known, was located on the Illinois River between what is now Ottawa and La Salle, and near the present city of Utica. The reception there by the Indians was of the warmest character. In describing it, Father Marquette says: "We found there an Illinois town called Kaskaskia, composed of seventy-four cabins. They received us well, and compelled me to promise to return and instruct them. One of the chiefs of this tribe, with his young men, escorted us to the Illinois Lake," that is, Lake Michigan, "whence at last we returned in the close of September to the Bay of the Fetid (Green Bay) whence we had set out in the beginning of June."[21]

In a few words, this is an account of the discovery and first exploration of the State of Illinois.[22]

In what is above said, I have rather stressed the religious side, as has everybody else who has written upon the subject, but would time permit, it would be interesting to call attention to the extraordinary merit of this report as setting forth temporal features of the territory through which the explorers passed, thus indicating its vast resources.

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

[22] For an account of Marquette's second voyage see Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 59, 165 et seq.

La Salle's Explorations

The next voyage of exploration was that of the renowned René Robert Cavelier Sieur de La Salle.[23] This voyage, too, was undertaken at the instance of the government and under the patronage of the great Frontenac. Like all French exploring parties, La Salle's was composed of both laymen and clergymen. The most noted layman accompanying La Salle was Henry de Tonty,[24] and the missionaries were three Recollects, namely: the much-known Hennepin,[25] the aged superior, Father Gabriel de Ribourde,[26] and Father Zenobius Membre.[27]

This voyage differed from that of Jolliet and Marquette in that it was begun and prosecuted from an opposite direction. La Salle's starting point was Quebec, and his route over the St. Lawrence River to Lake Ontario (then called Lake Frontenac) thence by the Niagara River to near the Falls, around the Falls on land, through Lake Erie and Lake Huron and down the east coast of Lake Michigan to the mouth of the St. Joseph River in the southwest corner of what is now Michigan, whence he entered the St. Joseph, pushing up the stream to a point in northern Indiana, near to the headwaters of the Kankakee; from there his party carried the canoes and supplies some fifteen miles to the Kankakee, then followed the Kankakee to its junction with the Illinois, and thence down the Illinois. In passing, La Salle saw the big rock near the Kaskaskia village, of Father Marquette's narrative; he rowed on down to the Peoria Lake where also Father Marquette had stopped and labored

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[23] René-Robert-Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, born at Rouen, 1643, died in Texas, 1687. Came to Canada in 1666; became the great explorer.

[24] Henri de Tonty, born in Italy about 1650, died of yellow fever in Mississippi in 1704. Was La Salle's greatest aid and one of the ablest men of the French Period.

See *Chevalier Henry de Tonty*, by Henry E. Legler, late librarian Chicago Public Library.

[25] Father Louis Hennepin, Recollect, born at Ath, Province of Hainaut, Belgium, about thirty miles southwest of Brussells, about 1640, died probably at Rome after 1701. Accompanied La Salle on his first Illinois voyage of discovery and in 1680 went with two men on a voyage of discovery from Peoria to the Mississippi and up the Mississippi to the falls of St. Anthony. Wrote extensively of his travels.

[26] Father Gabriel de Ribourde, Recollect, born near 1600, accompanied La Salle and was killed by Kickapoo Indians May 19, 1680, near Morris, Illinois.

[27] Father Zenobius Membre, Recollect, born in 1645 at Bapaume, France, came to Canada in 1675, accompanied La Salle in 1679 and 1681. Was at Peoria and Starved Rock. Was killed by Indians in Texas in 1687.

three days. Here, on January 4, 1680, La Salle and his party landed, a fort was built by La Salle called Fort Crevecoeur, and the first white settlement ever made upon the soil of Illinois established.[28]

From here Father Hennepin and two aids were sent to the Mississippi and north to the sources of that river. Tonty was dispatched to the neighborhood of the Kaskaskia village with instructions to build a fort upon the rock (now Starved Rock) which he eventually did, and from which he governed the Illinois country as the representative of La Salle and his French patrons for twenty-one years.

The subsequent voyages and activities of La Salle, though of great importance to the rest of the world, did not so intimateely concern Illinois. We can, therefore, dismiss them in this present consideration, and with this voyage conclude the subject of discovery and early exploration, leaving the Illinois country with four well-defined routes of approach, namely: that by way of the Wisconsin River as followed by Jolliet and Father Marquette; second, that by way of the Mississippi from the South as made plain by Father Marquette's voyage and narrative,; third, by way of Lake Michigan, the Chicago, Calumet and Illinois rivers, traversed by Marquette and Jolliet, and fourth, the approach from the eastern side through the St. Joseph and Kankakee rivers.

The accounts of these discoveries, published in much detail, opened up this splendid territory and at once made it accessible for settlement and development.

In passing, it should be noted that other travelers and explorers during the French period wrote down their experiences. Included amongst those are Tonty,[29] La Salle's lieutenant, Joutel,[30] who accompanied La Salle, the Baron La Hontan,[31] Abbé Cavelier,[32] Le Sueur,[33] La Harpe,[34] Hennepin,[35] Membre,[36] St. Cosme,[37] De

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[28] *Tonty's Memoir,* see translation in *Kellogg's Early Narratives of the Northwest,* p. 287.

[29] Henry de Tonty wrote an account of his voyage with La Salle, a translation of which may be found in *Illinois Historical Collections,* Vol. 1, pp. 128-164, and in Kellogg's *Early Narratives of the Northwest,* p. 287 et seq.

[30] Henri Joutel wrote a journal of La Salle's voyages Margry 3, 91-162.

[31] Armond Louis de Delondaree de La Hontan wrote extensively. His works are published in English in three volumes.

[32] Abbé Jean Cavelier, Sulpitian priest, brother of La Salle, wrote an account of La Salle's voyage to the gulf of Mexico. Published in English by Shea in his *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi.*

[33] Bernard de la Harpe wrote an account of the travels of Pierre le Sueur

Montigny,[38] Davion,[39] Douay,[40] and a little later Charlevoix,[41] and others. Many of the letters of the Jesuit priests published in *Jesuit Relations* are excellent accounts of explorations. It is well known, of course, that Father Louis Hennepin, the Recollect Missionary, who

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which was translated and published by John Gilmary Shea in his *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi.*

[38] See note 33.

[39] Father Louis Hennepin's chief publications were *A Description of Louisiana,* which it seems he never saw, and *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America,* etc.

"Hennepin, after this expedition down the Illinois and up the Mississippi, retired to Canada, and soon afterwards he set sail for France. He there published a splendid account of the newly-discovered country of "Louisiana," which he so called in honor of Louis XIV. This work he dedicated to the French minister, Colbert. It contained an account of his discoveries under La Salle, in which he makes no claim to have descended the river lower than the Arkansas. Several years subsequently, not meeting with that patronage which he expected in France, he visited England, and was soon taken into the pay of King William, who declared "that he would leap over twenty stumbling-blocks" to accomplish his designs in America. The King of England desired to set up a claim to the discovery of the Mississippi, and to the whole of Louisiana, through Father Hennepin's discoveries. He therefore induced him to write a new account of his explorations, and so modify its details as to favor the pretentions of the English king. This account was published in London in 1699. It is in this that he first claims to have explored the river to its mouth. The whole narrative, in this respect, bears evidence of its own falseness, and with the French procured for him the title of 'the great liar.' See Martin's *Louisiana,* Vol. I. Also, Bancroft's *History of the United States,* Vol. III, p. 167. Stoddart's *Sketches of Louisiana,* p. 16."—Monette's *History of the Mississippi Valley,* p. 140.

[40] Father Zenobius Membre, Recollect, wrote of La Salle's voyage down the Mississippi, a translation of which appears in Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley.*

[41] Father Francis Buisson de St. Cosme, a priest of the Foreign Missions from Quebec, wrote an account of his voyage with Fathers Montigny and Davion through Illinois and down the Mississippi in 1699 which with letters of Fathers Montigny, Davion, and de la Source, all of the same order, are published in Shea's *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi.*

[42] See 37.

[43] See 37.

[44] Father Anastasius Douay, a Recollect, who accompanied La Salle in his voyage down the Mississippi, wrote an account of the voyage which is translated and published by Shea in his *Discovery and Explorations of the Mississippi.*

[45] Father Pierre Francis Xavier de Charlevoix, S. J., visited Illinois in 1721 and wrote a history and general description of New France which was translated by John Gilmary Shea and published in six volumes. He also wrote other letters and journals bearing on his journey through Illinois.

was with La Salle in his first voyage, was a prolific writer, but what seems to be ulterior influences affected some of his later writings.

It should be noted, also, that in the course of some years, another route was established to the Mississippi, leaving Lake Erie thence by the Maumee River to its source, thence by portage to the upper waters of the Wabash, and from there on the Wabash and Ohio to the Mississippi. Many subsequent travelers and settlers followed that route, and the settlements at Fort Miami (now Fort Wayne) Ouiatenon (now Lafayette) and Vincennes in Indiana were reached and built up by this route.

II. THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS AND CIVILIZATION

Settlement

In fulfillment of his cherished ambition and his promise to the Illinois tribes, Father Marquette journeyed again to Illinois, reaching the mouth of the Chicago River December 4, 1675 and, delayed by sickness, remained within what is now the limits of Chicago until the 29th of March of that year. On that day he began his journey to the Kaskaskia village, which he reached on the 8th of April.

Here after three days' preparation, spent in preaching the Gospel and in visiting the Indians in their wigwams, Marquette on April 11, 1675, with elaborate ceremonies established the Catholic Church and founded the mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. This was the first permanent institution on the soil of Illinois and the only one save the Church of the Holy Family at Cahokia, founded in 1698, that has endured from the seventeenth century.

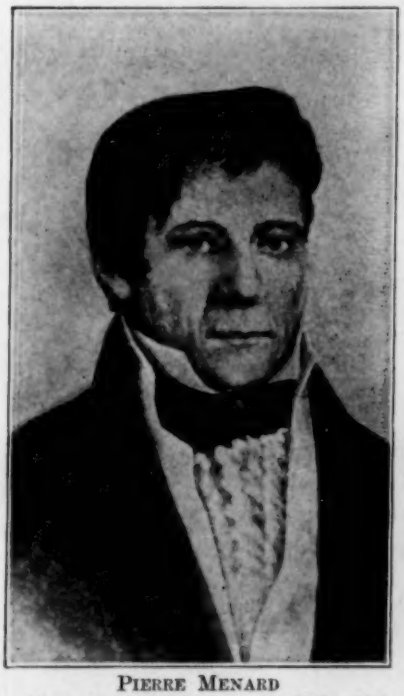
Father Marquette was at the threshold of the grave when he accomplished his great work and died while attempting to return to his former mission, but other missionaries succeeded him in the Illinois and the Kaskaskia foundation was sustained.

With the way opened up and resources and means of access made known, it was natural to expect that immigration would begin to the new rich country. Officially, the settlement of the country was in a measure assigned to La Salle. By letters patent granted by King Louis the XIV, dated May 12, 1678, La Salle was authorized "to endeavor to discover the western part of our country of New France, and for the execution of this enterprise to construct forts wherever

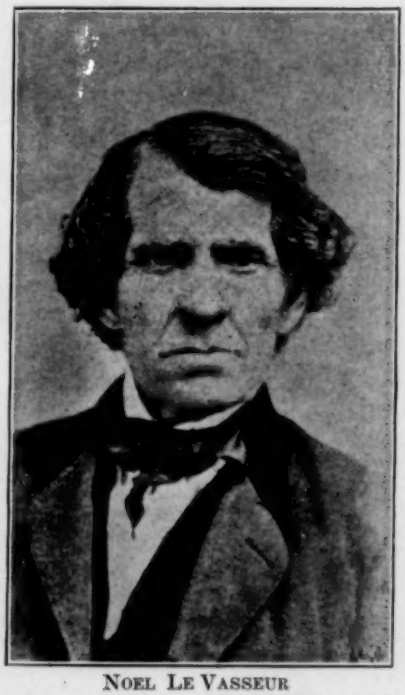
JEAN BAPTISTE BEAUBIEN
Photo by courtesy of Mrs. R. S. Beaubien, granddaughter, 26 North Lang Avenue, Chicago.

MARK BEAUBIEN
Photo by courtesy of Frank G. Beaubien, son, 5737 Race Avenue, Chicago.

THE COMMERCIAL FOUNDERS OF CHICAGO



PIERRE MENARD
Most distinguished man of the Illinois Territory and early State.



NOEL LE VASSEUR
First settler and distinguished pioneer of Kankakee County.

DISTINGUISHED FRENCHMEN OF ILLINOIS

you deem it necessary.'"[1] Accordingly, on his first voyage, as has been suggested, La Salle constructed a fort at Peoria Lake called Crevecoeur and planted a small settlement there, which, as we are aware, was soon put an end to by a mutiny in which the fort was burned,[2] and the only result of La Salle's visit of a permanent nature was the building of the fort at the Rock (Starved Rock) by himself and Tonty in 1682. Here Tonty gathered around him theretofore discordant Indian tribes, and, with a few Frenchmen, kept civilization alive for almost the succeeding score of years.[3] During the last years of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, French traders made frequent trips up and down the Mississippi, and the missionaries established stopping places here and there, while around these little missions the traders came to deal with the Indians attracted by the mission, but immigrants did not come in any numbers until well along in the new century.

The original tribe of Indians to which Marquette preached, the Kaskaskias, in 1700 removed their headquarters from the Rock, and with their missionaries of the original mission went to a point near the junction of the Kaskaskia and Mississippi rivers in southwestern Illinois, and it was here that the effective settlement of the state

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[1] See translation of Patent in Parkman's *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, Little, Brown & Co., 1908, pp. 124-125.

[2] A settlement was maintained at Peoria Lake from January 4, 1680, the day on which La Salle and his party arrived, until early in March of the same year. For this reason Peoria may be said to have been the first site of white settlement in Illinois.

[3] For a brief but interesting account of life at Fort St. Louis (now Starved Rock) see *Starved Rock* by Eaton G. Osman.

The military occupation of Illinois seems to have continued, without interruption, from the time when La Salle returned from Fort Frontenac. Joutel found a garrison at Fort St. Louis in 1687; in 1689, La Hontan bears testimony that it still continued; in 1696, a public document proves its existence, and the wish of Louix XIV to preserve it in good condition; and when, in 1700, Tonti again descended the Mississippi, he was attended by twenty Canadian residents in Illinois.—Bancroft's *History of the United States*, Vol. III, p. 195.

The names of several men who were in this first permanent settlement in Illinois have come down to us. Among them were: Rene Robert Cavelier de La Salle, Henri de Tonti, Daniel Greysolon Du Lhut, Greysolon de la Tournette, François de la Forest, Sieur Juchereau St. Denis, Boisrondet, Michael Dizy, Pierre Chenet, François Pachot, François Hazeur, Louis le Vasseur, Pierre le Vasseur, Mathieu Marlin, François Charron, Jacques de Faye, Michael Guyon, Andrede Chalneau, Marie Joseph le Neuf, Michael de Grez, Phillipes Ensault Jean Petit, Rene Fezeret, Riverin, Chanjon, D'Autrey, D'Artigny, La Chesnaye, Poisset, La Porte, Louvigny, De St. Castin.

begun. For nearly twenty years this new Kaskaskia existed almost without communication with the outer world, and "the only material for historians of this period is to be found in the mission register kept by the priests, and in the periodical reports which they made to their superiors."[4] In the course of years, however, more and more immigrants reached this settlement, and in 1715 a great event occurred, nothing less than the advent of a French woman, one Françoise le Brise, the first white woman ever known to be in Illinois.[5] And by the time France extended its Government over the settlement through the Company of the West, there was quite a little group of settlers there.[6]

Industrial Foundation

It was during the period 1700 to 1725 that the foundations of Illinois were laid, and the guide and leader and builder of the structure, until the time of his death, was Father Pierre Gabriel Marest, S. J. He taught religion and civilization. How to work as well as how to pray. He civilized all the savages and transformed the wilderness into homes, the Indian villages into civilized cities, the best governed—because the least governed—in the world. So rapidly did civilization and culture spread under his tutelage that a college of considerable pretensions was established by his colaborers and successors in 1721, but a few years after his death which occurred in 1715. Gabriel Marest is entitled to be called the industrial founder of Illinois as well as one of its most successful and distinguished spiritual leaders.

Of government during this period Judge Sidney Breese has said:

"No evidence is to be found, among our early records, of the exercise of any controlling power, save the Jesuits, up to the time of the grant to Crozat in 1712, and I have no idea that any such existed in the shape of government, or that there was any other social organization than that effected by them and of which they were the head." Judge Breese cites many evidences to show that the only government attempted prior to 1712 was that of the Jesuits. And

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[4] *The story of Chicago and National Developments,* by Eleanor Atkinson, p. 18.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[6] In 1704 we find it represented that more than a hundred Canadians are scattered in small parties along the Mississippi and Missouri.—Parkman, *Conflict of Half a Century,* Vol. I, p. 354, citing letter of Bienvelle to Minstre, September 6, 1704.

even after Crozat and the Company of the West came on the scene Judge Breeze says that, "Their sway was more in name than in fact, for aside from their power to grant land, all real control over the minds and will of the people was with the Jesuits."[7]

And Blanchard says:

"The French villages in the Illinois country, as well as at most other places, were each under the government of a priest, who besides attending to their spiritual wants, dispensed justice to them, and from his decisions there was no appeal. Though this authority was absolute the records of the times disclose no abuse of it, but, on the contrary, prove that it was always used with paternal care."[8]

"Besides officiating as their religious teacher," says Judge Gillispie, "he (the priest) decides all the controversies and disputes which may arise amongst the people.

"These decisions were (as I have understood) so eminently fair and proper as to satisfy even the disputants. These clerical functionaries were, in the main, men of highly-cultivated minds, with no object whatever in view except to do justice and preserve harmony between the members of their flocks."[9]

It was of this period that Penacaut was writing, as published in Margry, when he said:

"The Kaskaskia of Illinois are very industrious and skillful in the cultivation of the soil: and in this they use the plough, which has not been introduced elsewhere along the Mississippi valley. It was the Jesuit Fathers that taught them its use, more than sixty years ago, when they lived near Lake Pimiteouy (Peoria), whither they had gone down from Canada, among the Illinois, nearly all of whom they converted to the Catholic religion.

"The country where they are now settled is one of the most beautiful parts of all Louisiana, and among the best, too, in regard to the fertility of the soil. As good wheat is to be found there as in France, and every species of vegetable, tubers and herbs as well. In addition they have fruit of all kinds and of excellent flavor.

"In the Illinois country are to be seen the most beautiful prairies of any along the Mississippi Valley. There they grow pastures for the horses, which they procure from the Cadodaquioux in exchange for merchandise.

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[7] *Early History of Illinois*, p. 146.

[8] *Discovery and Conquest of the Northwest*, p. 63.

[9] *Recollections of Early Illinois and Her Noted Men*, p. 5.

"They have large numbers of cattle on these prairies, such as oxen and cows. There are likewise among them great quantities of every species of poultry: besides they have fish in the river by which they dwell, and in the Mississippi River, which is two miles from their village, and in which they catch large quantities of fish, so that they want in none of the things necessary and suitable for sustaining life.

"Near the village they have three mills to grind their corn, namely, a windmill belonging to the Jesuit Fathers, which the inhabitants make very extensive use of, and two other mills worked by horse-power, belonging to the Illinois themselves.

"The women of the Kaskaskia Illinois are very adroit; they commonly spin thread of the hair of the wild ox, which is as fine as the wool of the English sheep. This thread is spun as fine as silk, and it is very white, and it is of it they make their stuffs."[10]

Father Pierre Francis Xavier de Charlevoix travelled through the Illinois country in 1721 and in letters written from here tells of the progress already made. He says that "A Fleming, a servant of the Jesuits, has taught them how to sow wheat, and it thrives well. They have horned cattle and fowl." He tells how the Illinois Indians cultivate the land and mentions that their wives spin buffalo's wool and make it into gowns which they sew "with thread made of the sinews of roe-bucks."[11]

Colonization Movements Fail

In 1712 Antoine Crozat[12] was granted the trade of the country for fifteen years, and assumed to rule it under the government of Louisiana, subject, of course, to the general government of New France. This proprietor made some effort in the direction of settlement, but apparently not profiting as greatly as he expected, he voluntarily surrendered his grant after exercising his powers only five years. On September 6, 1717, the Western or Royal India Company was granted similar but more extensive concessions, and it was this company the famous John Law financed through what

[10] Margry, Vol. V, p. 488.

[11] *Works*, Vol. IV, p. 234.

[12] Two men, Antoine de Lamothe, Sieur de Cadillac, founder of Detroit, and Jean Baptiste le Moyne de Bienville, prominent in their day and destined to become well known in the annals of the West and of the Mississippi Valley, were connected with Crozat's enterprise. Crozat named Cadillac governor and Bienville lieutenant-governor, but Cadillac, being accused and imprisoned in 1716, Bienville became governor.

became known as the "Mississippi Bubble". And though Law's venture proved disastrous to many of the investors, yet it was a most important factor in making known the merits of the Mississippi Valley. Under the impetus of the promotion of this company's affairs, the greater part of the early settlers, especially those from abroad, came to Illinois. A writer says that: "All Paris was talking of the Illinois country, whose soil, it is declared, rivaled the banks of the Nile in richness, and whose mines were equal to those of Peru. The country was described as glistening with gold, silver and precious stones. Everyone was eager to go to the new country, or to invest his money. . . . The bubble was fifteen years bursting, and during that time dazzled all Europe with its promises of the wealth of Golconda."[13] The result of this publicity upon the character of the immigrants is thus further described: "The Commandant, the Sieur de Bois Briant (the Governor appointed by the company) lead a merry life. Magnificent quarters and luxurious living were provided for the military officers in the fort (Fort Chartres was built in 1618). Some of them had brought their wives, mothers and daughters to form a court. Cannon were planted to command the river, to terrorize hostile Indians and to warn Spaniards not to encroach on French territory. Gay cavalcades of gentlemen and ladies in velvets, brocades, laces, powder and jewels rode over to Kaskaskia to attend Mass in the missionary chapel. The splendor and gayety of Versailles were imitated in the hunting parties and in the balls and dinners at the fort. The mission at Kaskaskia was raised to a parish, and mixed in with the births, deaths and marriages of Indians, were recorded in the parish register momentous events in the lives of numbers of the old aristocracy of France."[14]

It was during the time of the Company of the West that the French settlers in Illinois first began to obtain land grants. Prior to that time, possession had been held by permission from Indian tribes, but in 1722 the company, through Boisbriant,[15] the Commandant, began making grants, and amongst the earliest grants was one to Philip Francis Renault,[16] made on June 14, 1723. A part of this

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[13] Atkinson, *The Story of Chicago*, etc., pp. 19, 20.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[15] Pierre Dugué de Boisbriant was the first Commandant appointed by the Royal India Company or Company of the West. The Company was known by both names. He was Commandant or Governor, 1718 to 1724. He died in Canada in November, 1740.

[16] Phillipe François Renault was appointed Superintendent for the Company

grant, one league square, lay in Monroe County, and another tract of 14,000 acres was situated near Peoria.

The company, however, failing also to profit as largely as expected, surrendered its charter in 1732. It is fair to state here that, to the French in Illinois, government was at every period an uncompensated burden. Crozat, the Royal India Company, the direct government from Canada, the sub-government from Louisiana, the mis-government of the English and the virtual default of government during the Virginia Colonial period all brought grief and hardship to the settlers.

For these reasons, these early pioneers are entitled to much more credit than they have ever received. Despite the numerous hardships visited upon them by misgovernment, they applied themselves to the husbanding of the resources within their reach, and worked out their own salvation in a very creditable manner, so long as they were permitted to go on without positive interdiction by the government.

By 1750 there were five vigorous French villages in Illinois with 1,000 white inhabitants and 300 blacks, besides the numerous members of the Indian tribes which were living in the friendliest relations with the French. To such an extent had the villagers taken advantage of the natural opportunities, that "twice each year fleets convoyed by an armed cruiser, and numbering forty vessels, loaded with grain, flour, pork, lead and furs went down to New Orleans."[17]

French Society

Some interesting descriptions of the early settlers have come down to us. The French preferred village life, and accordingly their houses were built in clusters, and their lands or holdings were long

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of the West and came to Fort Chartres in 1720, bringing with him two hundred miners and artisans and five hundred negro slaves. He sought ores and opened the lead mines at St. Genevieve on the Missouri side and elsewhere. The ore was brought to Fort Charters on pack horses and sent down the Mississippi in boats. Renault continued in this work until 1744, when he sold his slaves to the colonists and departed for France.

[17] Atkinson, *The Story of Chicago*, etc., p. 22.

Regarding the French, Parkman says: "As a bold and hardy pioneer of the wilderness, the Frenchman in America has rarely found his match."—*A Half Century of Conflict*, Vol. I, p. 346.

"It was Boré, born at Kaskaskia, in the Illinois district, in 1741, of an old Norman family, educated in France at a military school, and settling in Louisiana in 1768, who successfully introduced the sugar industry there."—Rosengarten, *French Colonists and Exiles in the United States*, p. 39.

narrow strips extending backward from the house to the river or to the bluff. Besides these strips which they cultivated, there were large areas of land laid out and fenced, which were called "commons," and the "commons" were of two kinds—one for pasture for their animals and the other woods from which their fire-wood and timber for buildings and fences were secured. These "commons" were, as the name indicates, held in common, and all were entitled to use them under the regulations agreed upon at the Church door after Mass, and under the supervision of the Syndic, an officer selected by themselves. We are told that "every house in the French settlement had its picket-fenced garden with apple, pear, peach, cherry and plum trees, and its strawberry, asparagus and salad-vegetable beds. Roses draped the veranda pillars, and bulbs and seed brought from France had taken root and flourished."[18]

The pictures we have of the French society are perhaps as interesting as anything we can learn of these early French days. We are told that "every village, as well as the fort, had its evening dance, its spring flower festival, fall nutting parties, and twelfth night ball."[19] Governor Reynolds, who lived amongst the French himself, has given us perhaps the best insight of these good people. In his *Pioneer History* Mr. Reynolds says: "There was no organized government in the country until the Company of the West was established. . . . The leaders of the first French settlements of Illinois were men of talents, and, for the most part, of classic education. They were characters of the first order and rank in any society, while the *payans, voyageurs* and *coureurs du bois* were innocent, honest, and kind and obedient to the commands of their leaders. . . . The society in Illinois before any government was organized was moral, honest and innocent, and perhaps no more happiness in any other condition could be enjoyed."[20] In describing the progress of the French settlement, the same author says: "In olden days, Kaskaskia was to Illinois what Paris is at this day to France. Both were at their respective days the great emporium of fashion, gayety, and, I must say, happiness also. In the year 1721 the Jesuits erected a monastery and college in Kaskaskia, and a few years afterwards it was chartered by the government. Kaskaskia for many years was the largest town west of the Alleghany mountains. It was a tolerable place before the existence of Pittsburg, Cincinnati

[18] Atkinson, *Story of Chicago*, etc., p. 21.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[20] *Pioneer History of Illinois*, pp. 44-45.

or New Orleans. . . . The Jesuits had erected water and windmills near this village. . . . These people had at that day, in my opinion, found the philosopher's stone of wealth and happiness. . . . The inhabitants were devout and strong believers in the Catholic Church. They were willing to fight and die for the maintenance of the doctrines of their church. They considered the Church of Rome infallible, emanating direct from God, and therefore all the dogmas were received and acted on by them without a why or a wherefore. They performed their devotions in this Church with a confidence that rendered them happy in religious matters. Their spiritual teachers were men of sincere piety and religion. It was the duty and it became also the pleasure of these Christian men to administer to the religious wants of their people. The people being governed by the precepts of the Gospel, enforced by the power and influnce of the Church, formed a pious and religious community, which was the basis of the happiness of the Illinois people in the primitive times."[21]

"Finally," Governor Reynolds concludes, "these people solved the problem that an honest and virtuous people need no government. Nothing like a regular court of law ever existed in the country prior to the British occupation of Illinois in the year of 1765."[22]

Judge Breese, who also dwelt amongst the French, has left us this picture of them: "At the same altar knelt the rich man and the poor man, the same ordinance and sacraments were administered to each, and, dying, both were buried in the same cemetery. The same rites performed and the same *miserere* and *de profundis* chanted. This feeling of equality thus generated and encouraged marked all of the social intercourse and entered largely into their amusements. In the same dance all classes cheerfully participated—in no bosom rankled the cry of family and no one felt or affected superiority. The condition of the greater part of both sexes required from them exertion, they were compelled to labor to live, and labor, being the common lot, was neither odious nor disgraceful.[23] The principles of the Roman Catholic religion were instilled into all and the little spires of its churches arose in every village. In them were the marriage ceremonies performed, the priest consecrating the nuptial tie and recording the act in the presence of witnesses. There, too, the ceremony of Baptism was manifested and there the last sad obsequies

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 50-55.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[23] *Early History of Illinois*, p. 211.

for the dead and masses said for the souls of those dying in the odor of sanctity.''[24]

French Amusements

It is interesting to note how these good people entertained themselves. A few paragraphs from Governor Reynolds will enlighten us in that regard: ''The ancient innocent custom was for the young men about the last of the year to disguise themselves in old clothes, as beggars, and go around the village in the several houses, where they knew they would be well received. They enter the houses dancing what they call the *Gionie,* which is a friendly request for them to meet and have a ball to dance away the old year.

''The people, young and old, met, each one carrying along some refreshment, and then they did, in good earnest, dance away the old year.

''About the 6th of January, in each year, which is called *Four de Rais,* a party is given, and four beans are baked in a large cake; this cake is distributed amongst the gentlemen, and each one who receives a bean is proclaimed king. These four kings are to give the next ball. These are called ''king balls''. These kings select each a queen, and make her a suitable present. They arrange all things necessary for the dancing party.

''In these merry parties, no set supper is indulged in. They go there not to eat, but to be and make merry. They have refreshments of cake and coffee served round at proper intervals. Sometimes *bouillon,* as the French call it, takes the place of coffee. Toward the close of the party the old queens select each one a new king, and

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[24] *Ibid.,* p. 209.

Nothing was better calculated to improve the simple and benevolent feelings of unsophisticated human nature, to maintain the blessings of peace and harmony, and the prevalence of brotherly love, than the forms of life and the domestic usages which prevailed in these early French villages. Under this benign influence, peace and competence smiled upon them; joy and mirth beamed from every countenance; contentment sat on every brow. The natural affluence which pervaded the whole village was common to all. The prolific soil, solicited by gentle labor as a mere matter of recreation, yielded abundance of all the necessaries of life, except those which were derived from the still more prolific waters and the chase. With all these advantages, and all these easy enjoyments, in a climate of great benignity, remote from the strife and conflicting interests of a dense population, what should prevent them from esteeming the Illinois a ''terrestrial paradise,'' as La Salle had termed it in 1682?—Monette, *Settlement of the Mississippi Valley,* p. 185.

kisses him to qualify him into office; then each new king chooses his new queen, and goes through the ceremony as before. In this manner the king balls are kept up all the carnival.

"In the ballroom much order and decorum are observed. Two aged, discreet persons are chosen, who are called *provosts;* one to select the ladies for the dance, and the other for the gentlemen, so that each one dances in proper turn. It is in this manner that these innocent people spend much of their nights in winter. The old people regulate all: the time to retire and the time to meet again. By this regulation, much of the excesses of dancing parties are avoided. The young people are not so capable to judge in these matters as the old."[25]

"Nor were these festive enjoyments confined to any sex or condition." Says Monette: "In the dance all participated, from the youngest to the oldest, the bond and the free; even the black slave was equally interested in the general enjoyment, and was happy because he saw his master happy; and the master, in turn, was pleased to witness the enjoyment of the slave. The mutual dependence of each upon the other, in their respective spheres, contributed to produce a state of mutual harmony and attachment. It has been almost a proverb that the world did not exhibit an example of a more contented and happy race than the negro slaves of the early French in the Illinois country. The numerous festivals of the Catholic Church tended strongly to foster the mutual interchange of friendly feelings among those who were thus removed beyond the reach and influence of wealth and power.

"In religion all were Catholics, and revered the Pope as the great head of the Church, who held the keys of Heaven and of Purgatory, and dispensed his favors or his frowns through the priests, who were their friends and counselors, and whom they esteemed as 'reverend fathers'. They knew no difference of sects, nor

" 'Doctrine framed to suit the varying hour.'

"Ardently attached to their spiritual guides, religion became one of the great rules of social life. They observed strictly all the outward rites and ceremonies of the Romish Church, and their lives corresponded with their professions. Ignorant of creeds, except the 'Apostles' Creed,' they were not skillful disputants; but holydays and festivals were never forgotten or neglected."[26]

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[25] *Pioneer History of Illinois,* p. 72.

[26] Monette, *Settlement of the Mississippi Valley,* p. 185.

The Missions

Any account of the early French settlements in Illinois that would not make extended mention of the missions, would be very lame indeed. As, however, this subject has been treated elsewhere at length, it will not be necessary here to go into great detail. It seems sufficient to state that the mission-tent and wigwam or stockade, chapel or church was the center of every settlement and the point of first and highest interest.

Judge Breese says that "A fort is usually the first erection of all intruders into new colonies, as a protection against those whose animosity is so apt to be excited by the intrusion, but in this part of the valley it was a church; the cross was planted instead of palisades, and the priest in his frock was more potent than the soldier in his armor."[27]

During this period, a mission was established wherever a tribe of Indians was located, and a settlement grew up around the mission. The priest also carried his mission to the Indians on their marches or hunts or wherever they might wander.

No more fitting or romantic language can be selected for an allusion to the missionary work than that of Longfellow in his "Evangeline". It is well remembered how the Acadians were driven from their adopted home and scattered through the French habitations in every part of the New World up and down the Mississippi; and we recall Longfellow's description of the separation of Evangeline and her Gabriel, and how with the blacksmith Basil, she searched the French habitations for her lover. A number of these Acadian exiles settled in the Illinois Valley near what became known as Cahokia, and it is possible Evangeline, in her wanderings, if perchance there ever were an Evangeline and a Gabriel, visited the Illinois country, and as she pursued her sorrowful and vain search, it may have been here that:

The Forest Mission (From Evangeline)

Early upon the morrow the march was resumed; and the Shaunee
Said, as they journeyed along,—"On the western slope of these mountains
Dwells in his little village the Black-Robe chief of the Mission.
Much he teaches the people, and tells them of Mary and Jesus;
Loud laugh their hearts with joy, and weep with pain as they hear him."

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[27] *Early History of Illinois*, p. 151.

Then, with a sudden and secret emotion, Evangeline answered,
"Let us go to the mission, for there good tidings await us!"

Thither they turned their steeds; and behind a spur of the mountains,
Just as the sun went down, they heard a murmur of voices,
And in a meadow green and broad, by the bank of a river,
Saw the tents of the Christians, the tents of the Jesuit Mission.

Under a towering oak, that stood in the midst of the village,
Knelt the Black Robe chief with his children. A crucifix fastened
High on the trunk of the tree, and overshadowed by grapevines,
Looked with its agonized face on the multitude kneeling beneath it.
This was their rural chapel. Aloft, through the intricate arches
Of its aerial roof, arose the chant of their vespers,
Mingling its notes with the soft susurrus and sighs of the branches.

Silent, with head uncovered, the travellers, nearer approaching,
Knelt on the swarded floor, and joined in the evening devotions.

But when the service was done, and the benediction had fallen
Forth from the hands of the priest, like seed from the hands of the sower,
Slowly the reverend man advanced to the strangers, and bade them
Welcome; and when they replied, he smiled with benignant expression,
Hearing the homelike sounds of his mother-tongue in the forest,
And, with words of kindness, conducted them into his wigwam.

There upon mats and skins they reposed, and on cakes of maize-ear
Feasted, and slaked their thirst from the watergourd of the teacher.
Soon was their story told; and the priest with solemnity answered:

"Not six suns have risen and set since Gabriel, seated
On this mat by my side, where now the maiden reposes,
Told me this same sad tale; then arose and continued his journey."
Soft was the voice of the priest, and he spake with an accent of kindness;
But on Evangeline's heart fell his words as in winter the snow-flakes
Fall into some lone nest from which the birds have departed.
"Far to the north he has gone," continued the priest; but in autumn,
When the chase is done, will return again to the mission."

A resumé of the progress of this period would show the establishment of five settlements, namely: Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, St. Phillippe, and Nouvelle Chartres, each of which had its church and its pastor. The elevation of the mission of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia from a mission to a church in 1720, and the existence of a Jesuit College at Kaskaskia from 1721 to 1765. An increase in the population to more than three thousand French settlers. So much had the agricultural interests increased that when Captain Pittman visited the region in 1766, he was able to report that one settler, M. Beauvais, furnished 43,000 barrels of flour to the King's Commissary in one year, and that amount was only a part of the harvest he reaped.

Characteristics of the Pioneer

It is attested on all hands that French Illinois was a crimeless community, and whereas certain British travelers, due to their prejudices, have sought to give a bad impression of the French settlers, there is now a common agreement that the leaders were, as Sir William Johnson, the British Indian Commissioner said, "men of ability, influence and address." Mr. Alvord, perhaps the most indefatigable student and investigator of Illinois history, gives full credit to these early French inhabitants, and leaves us an interesting impression he has gained from his deep researches. Mr. Alvord says:

"Although priests and governors made loud complaint of the disorderliness of these habitants, yet their pleasures and vices were of a far milder type than those of their counterparts, the American backwoodsmen. The French always retained a respect for law and constituted authority and preferred to be guided rather than to lead. The expression of their individualism was checked in the presence of officials, for government meant to them authority with a divine right to rule. In all their dealings, business and social, they never neglected to call in the assistance of notary or judge, whose legal papers they preserved, as their records show, with the greatest care and reverence. In their petty quarrels with each other, the Frenchmen saw no disgrace in seeking from the court a 'reparation of honor' instead of ending them with the brutal fights common among Americans.

"It is due to the remembrance of the lower class, the *habitants*, that travelers, both French and English, have condemned in such unmeasured terms the Illinois French settlers; but the picture of the village society would be incomplete if limited to a description of the *coureurs de bois* and *voyageurs;* for it was never wholly vulgarized and depraved, owing to the presence here of many persons from the better classes of France and Canada—the gentry, Clark called them—who, accustomed to greater refinements of life than those of the log cabin, endeavored to surround themselves with such little elegancies as might be brought from Canada or elsewhere. . . . Among the gentry, which was a rather elastic term, were also many well-to-do men, who had risen to prominence in the Illinois or else possessed some patrimony, before migrating to the West, which they had increased by trade. Such was Jean Bte. Barbau of Prairie du Rocher, the members of the Beauvais and Charleville families of Kaskaskia and their neighbors and friends, the Viviats, the Lachances,

and the Janis; and at Cahokia, the Sauciers, François Trottier, Antoine Girardin, and J. B. H. La Croix. Next to the commandant the most important individual of the American Bottom was Gabriel Cerré, who had acquired his wealth in the fur trade. He was well educated and had correspondents in Canada and elsewhere. Among the rising young men must be reckoned Charles Gratiot, who had established himself at Cahokia in 1777 and was associated in business with three Canadian merchants. He had an excellent education, spoke several languages, was something of a dandy in dress, and had by his address won for himself a place of influence in the community. These were the men and others like them to whom Sir William Johnson, the British Commissioner, referred when he wrote that the French traders were gentlemen in character, manners and dress, and 'men of ability, influence and address.' "[28]

A careful study of the Illinois Frenchman does not justify the opinion sometimes expressed that he was not able to hold his own in business and otherwise against competition and was accordingly relegated to an inferior place in accordance with the law of the survival of the fittest. In the first place he did survive, so witness the case of Cerré, Beauvais, Laclede, Menard, and many others. In the second place he was grievously hampered by gross discrimination of government. Dr. Alvord's *British Politics in the Mississippi Valley* is one long recital of plans and schemes to transfer trade from the French to the English; but with all the power of the government and all the acumen and even gross unfairness of the traders, it could not be and was not accomplished. The Frenchman was outdone by politics, not by superiority of talent.

Professor Hinsdale in summing up the argument as to which—the French or English—had the better right to the Old Northwest, including Illinois, said:

"When we contrast the heroic ardor of the French voyageurs, soldiers, and priests who opened up the Great West to the vision of men, with the apathy of the English colonists, although our judgment approve the final issue, we can but agree with Mr. Parkman when he says France's 'pretenses were moderate and reasonable compared with those of England.' (Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, 124,125)."

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[28] Alvord, *Illinois Historical Collections*, Virginia, Vol. I, pp. 18-20.

[29] Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest*, p. 65.

The Relations of the French and Indians

In view of the numerous Indian wars, raids and massacres which occurred in the early part of our history in various parts of the country, it is interesting to inquire how these Illinois Frenchmen got along with the Indians. It is a notable fact that there were no Indian wars in Illinois as was the case around the frontiers of the British colonies, nor were French colonies or residents raided or massacred as so frequently occurred in other places.

The relations of the French with the Indians can be better understood by comparison of their relations with other nationalities, and especially the English and the American backwoodsman.

Russell Errett, writing in the *Magazine of Western History* for April, 1888, puts and answers this question: "As there is a good reason for everything, what is the reason for the different impressions made on the Indian by the English and the French?" and he answers: "One answer is that the French were always kind to the Indians and fair in dealing with them, while the English were not."

Governor Reynolds in his *Pioneer History of Illinois* states the reason thus: "A Frenchman will yield to circumstances. He can adapt himself to a civilized or savage life. He is pliant and accommodating and is willing to permit another person to have some privilege of thinking for himself. An Englishman is the reverse of the above. He is unwilling to yield to almost unavoidable circumstances. He is far from being pliant or accommodating, and he is unwilling to permit anyone to have an opinion but himself.

"With these different characteristics it is not strange that the Frenchmen were on friendly terms with the natives, while the British were disliked by them. Moreover, the French made their settlements in villages and did not occupy so much of the Indian country as the British colonists did. When a Frenchman was with the Indians, he became almost an Indian; he painted, dressed like them, and frequently married with them. Under all these considerations it was quite natural that almost all the Indian population of the Mississippi Valley became warm and efficient allies of the French in the war with Great Britain."[30] And in another connection Reynolds says that "the Indians, throughout the whole length and breadth of the valley, were at peace with the French and rendered them their whole traffic."[31]

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[30] Reynold's *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 61.

We have some contemporary accounts of the relations of these people, one of which from Penacaut's Journal found in the Margry collection reads as follows:

"By far the greater number of the Illinois are Catholic Christians. In their village they have a very large church, in which there is a baptismal font. The church is kept very clean inside; there are three chapels, the large one for the choir and two inside chapels. There is also a tower, and in it is a bell. They attend very regularly at High Mass and at Vespers. The Jesuit Fathers have translated for them the Psalms and hymns from the Latin into their own language.

"The Illinois, both at Mass and Vespers, sing a couplet alternately with the French, who keep to the original tongue; for example, the Illinois sing a couplet of a psalm or a hymn in their own language, and the French sing the succeeding couplet in Latin, and so on; and all in the same tone in which it is sung in Europe by Catholic Christians.

"Following is their way of proceeding in the celebration of marriage: The preliminary arrangements having been made, they go together to see the Jesuit Fathers at their homes, in order to have their names inscribed on the marriage register. The banns are pub-

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[31] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

Sir William Johnson (a distinguished Irishman), the superintendent of Indian affairs, writing to Secretary Conway, June 28, 1766, said: "Our people in general are very ill calculated to maintain friendship with the Indians; they despise in peace those whom they fear to meet in war. This, with the little artifices used in trade, and the total want of that address and seeming kindness practiced with such success by the French, must always hurt the colonists. On the contrary, could they but assume a friendship, and treat them with civility and candor, we should soon possess their hearts, and much more of their country than we shall do in a century by the conduct now practiced." (N. Y. Col. Doc., VII, 836). The outrageous conduct of the English traders towards the Indians is a constant theme of complaint by Sir William Johnson in his letters to the Lords of Trade (see Idem, VII, 929, 955, 960, 964, 987). He speaks (VII, 965) of the contrast between the French and English traders. The former are gentlemen in character, manners, and dress; the latter, "for the most part, men of no zeal or capacity; men who often sacrifice the credit of the nation to the basest purposes. Can it otherwise happen but that the Indians' prejudices must daily increase, when they are on the one side seduced by men of abilities, influence, and address; and on the other, see such low specimens of British abilities, honor, and honesty? What, then, can be expected but loss of trade, ruptures?" See also Diary of Siege of Detroit, ed. by Hough, preface, XIII, and Dr. Hall's tract on The Dutch and the Iroquois.—Windsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. VI, p. 688-89. Part II.

VERY REVEREND PIERRE GIBAULT, EVANGELIST AND PATRIOT. DISTINGUISHED FRENCH-CANADIAN-AMERICAN. THE SECOND MARQUETTE

Pierre Gibault started from Michillimackinac for Illinois just as did Father Marquette. He journeyed in a canoe over Green Bay, the Fox, Wisconsin and Mississippi Rivers as did Father Marquette, and evangelized the white men of the Illinois as did Father Marquette the Redmen ninety-five years before him, and set them free. An ambassador of Christ and a herald of liberty.

lished three times on three consecutive Sundays or holy days, and after this they are married with Mass, as is done in France.''[32]

George Croghan, one of the ablest representatives of the English government that ever had dealings with the French and Indians in the West, explained to his government the French and Indian relations thus:

''They have been bred up together like children in that country, and the French have always adopted the Indian customs and manners, treated them civilly and supplied their necessities generally, by which means they gained the hearts of the Indians and commanded their services.''[33]

''Could the French have maintained their ground,'' says Parkman, ''the ruin of the Indian tribes might long have been postponed.[34]

The conduct and language of the Indians themselves may be regarded as relevant testimony to the friendly relations between the French and Indians.

Pontiac and the French

It will be remembered that the great chief, Pontiac, at one time espoused the English cause. Although he did not attack the French, yet his associates and allies caused damage to the French inhabitants, of which they complained, and in answer to the complaint, as proof of the esteem in which he had always held the French, Pontiac said: ''I do not doubt, my brothers, that this war is very troublesome to you, for our warriors are continually passing and repassing through your settlement. I am sorry for it. Do not think I approve of the damage that is done by them; and as a proof of this, remember the war with the Foxes and the part which I took in it. It is now seventeen years since the Ojibways of Michillimackinac, combined with the Sacs and Foxes, came down to destroy you. Who then defended you? Was it not I and my young men? Mackinac, great chief of all these nations, said in council that he would carry to his village the head of your commandant—that he would eat his heart and drink his blood. Did I not take your part? Did I not go to his camp, and say to him, that if he wished to kill the French he must first kill me and my warriors? Did I not assist you in routing them and driving them away? And now you think I would turn my arms

[32] Margry, Vol. V, p. 488.

[33] Letter of Coraghan to Sir William Johnson, English Indian Commissioner, published in Blanchard, p. 142.

[34] *Conspiracy of Pontiac,* Preface to First Edition.

against you! No, my brothers; I am the same French Pontiac who assisted you seventeen yaers ago. I am a Frenchman, and I wish to die a Frenchman."[35]

It is worthy of note that Pontiac remained the friend of the Frenchman all his life, and that his last hours were spent among the French of St. Louis and Cahokia where he was treacherously murdered at the instance of an English trader.

The Undying Affection of the Illinois

Perhaps the strongest evidence of the attachment of the Indians to the French is given in the actions and expressions of the Illinois Indians through their representatives after the attack of the Chickasaws and Choctaws on the French settlements of the Southern Mississippi. These unfriendly tribes had in 1729 fallen upon the French settlements, killing the men, women and children, and had, on the 28th of November, murdered Father Paul du Poisson, S. J., and on the 11th of December likewise murdered Father Jean Souel, S. J. When the news reached the Illinois Father Le Petit says in a letter dated the 12th of July, 1730, that "the Tchikachas, a brave nation, but treacherous, and little known to the French, have endeavored to seduce the Illinois tribes from their allegiance. They have even sounded some particular persons to see whether they could not draw them over to the party of those savages who were enemies of our nation.

The Illinois have replied to them that they were almost all "of the prayer," (that is, according to their manner of expression, that they are Christians); and that in other ways they are inviolably attached to the French by the alliances which many of that nation had contracted with them, in espousing their daughters.

"We always place ourselves," said they, "before the enemies of the French; it is necessary to pass over our bodies to go to them, and to strike us to the heart before a single blow can reach them."

Their conduct is in accordance with this declaration, and has not in the least contradicted their words. At the first news of the war, with the Natchez and the Yazous they came hither to weep for the Black Robes and the French, and to offer the services of their nation to Monsieur Perrier to avenge their death. I happened to be at the governor's house when they arrived, and was charmed with the harangues they made. Chikagou, whom you saw in Paris, was at the

[35] Wood, N. B., *Lives of Famous Indian Chiefs*, p. 151.

head of the Mitchigamias, and Mamantoyensa at the head of the Kaskaskias.

Chikagou spoke first. He spread out in the hall a carpet of deerskin, bordered with porcupine quills, on which he placed two calumets, with different savage ornaments, accompanying them with a present according to the usual custom. "There," said he, in showing these two calumets, "are two messages which we bring you, the one of Religion, and the other of peace or war, as you shall determine. We have listened with respect to the Governors, because they bring us the word of the King our Father, and much more to the Black Robes, because they bring us the word of God himself, who is the King of kings. We have come from a great distance to weep with you for the death of the French, and to offer our warriors to strike those hostile nations whom you may wish to designate. You have but to speak. When I went over to France, the King promised me his protection for the Prayer, and recommended me never to abandon it. I always remember it. Grant then your protection to us and to our Black Robes." He then gave utterance to the edifying sentiments with which he was impressed with regard to the Faith, as the Interpreter Baillarjon enabled us to half understand them in his miserable French.

Mamantouensa spoke next. His harangue was short, and in a style widely different from that which is usual among the Savages, who a hundred times repeat the same thing in the same speech.

"There," said he, addressing Monsieur Perrier, "are two young Padouka slaves, some skins, and some other trifles. It is but a small present which I make you; nor is it at all my design to induce you to make me one more costly. All that I ask of you is your heart and your protection. I am much more desirous of that than of all the merchandise of the world, and when I ask this of you, it is solely for the Prayer. My views of the war are the same as those of Chikagou, who has already spoken. It is useless therefore for me to repeat what you have just heard."

Another old chief, who had the air of an ancient patriarch, then rose. He contented himself with saying that he wished to die as he had lived, in the Prayer. "The last words," added he, "which our Fathers have spoken to us, when they were on the point of yielding up their last breath, were to be always attached to the Prayer, and that there is no other way of being happy in this life, and much more in the next which is after death."[26]

[26] Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 68, 203, et seq.

Thus did the Illinois express their settled policy:

"We always place ourselves before the enemies of the French; it is necessary to pass over our bodies to go to them, and to strike us to the heart before a single blow can reach them."

"Greater love than this no man hath, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

I think it may be considered well settled that the relations between the French and Indians of Illinois were almost always of the friendliest and most satisfactory character. Various reasons have been assigned for this condition of affairs, some of which are of more or less force, but the existence of these amicable relations is inexplicable, except upon consideration of the influence exerted upon both the French and the Indians by the Ten Commandments and the Precepts of the Church.

III. FRENCH INFLUENCE UPON EARLY ILLINOIS

The good nature and trustfulness of the early French have been painted as supineness, but the French inhabitants of Illinois demanded autonomy from English rule in 1770, six years before the Declaration of Independence and five years before the Declaration of Mecklenburg.

On August 24, 1770, pursuant to a call for the purpose, the French residents met at Kaskaskia, declared for an autonomous government, and commissioned Daniel Blouin to go to New York and lay their demands before General Gage, the English military ruler.

Blouin selected as a fellow commissioner, William Clazon, and after some rebuffs from General Gage, set before that officer a plan of representative government.

The French plan was rejected and an imperial plan suggested and the inhabitants called together in 1772 to consider the substitute plan. When Hamilton, the lieutenant-governor, addressed them, he says: "They were very high on the occasion," and let him know that they "expected to appoint their governor and all other civil magistrates."

Upon being requested to draw up a plan of government, the French informed Hamilton that they had deputed Daniel Blouin to represent them before General Gage, and that until they could learn what success he had met with they would give no definite answer.[1]

[1] Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, p. 51.

In a letter written by General Gage to Governor Haldimand, dated June 3,

While these negotiations were pending, a pamphlet was written by one of the Illinois Frenchmen, presumably Blouin or Clazon, and published in 1772 in which the writer urged his neighbors in Illinois to shake off the lethargy which had so long enveloped them and win economic independence for the colony.[2]

Similar activities continued in the colony, and with this situation in mind, it is easy to understand how the French at the very earliest opportunity, which was the appearance of George Rogers Clark in 1778, gladly threw off the British yoke.

In this connection the French priest, Father Pierre Gibault, deserves special mention. He was in every sense the leader of the inhabitants from his coming to Illinois from Canada in 1768 until 1790. He favored the American cause and was chiefly instrumental in the bloodless but successful conquest of the Illinois posts and of Vincennes and the Wabash country. He sustained the American government in its darker hours in the West and spent himself and his substance for his country and his people and went to his grave wholly unrequited. The record of this devoted priest and patriot is told in detail elsewhere in this periodical but it is imperative that he be mentioned here also.

The important part the French played in the Conquest of the Northwest is well known. It is interesting here to trace their connection with the progress of the territory after the revolution.

Due perhaps to the fact that few French names appear in the list of office-holders in the new governments succeeding the Revolutionary War, it has been intimated that the French population ceased to be an element of importance in the subsequent history of Illinois.

Loose statements are found in accounts of the period to the effect that all able Frenchmen who were men of importance left Illinois and went to Missouri or elsewhere following the accession of the former French territory by the English in 1763 and '65. An examination of the records and known historical data with reference to who left and who remained proves these statements unfounded;

1773, Gage said: "They (Blouin and Clazon) showed me a sketch of a Republican Government two years ago, which they were told would not be received." Can. Arch., series B, vol. 5, p. 142, cited in Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, p. 152.

"The French in Louisiana have the glory of having thought of establishing a republican form of government in America in 1768, eight years before the Declaration of Independence." Rosengarten, *French Colonists and Exiles in the United States*, p. 39.

[2] Brauer, Lydia Meine, in Pub. 13, *Illinois State Historical Society*, p. 261.

for while a number of residents did leave the Illinois side and go over into the Spanish domain west of the Mississippi, it is nevertheless true that in 1790 "Kaskaskia was one of the largest towns west of the Allegheny Mountains,"[3] and the population was almost wholly French.

It was of course a disappointment to the French inhabitants when Great Britain came into possession of their country in 1765 and they were at some loss as to just what to do. In this situation they asked the English commander for a period of nine months in which to decide whether they would stay or sell their property and leave. The commander refused so long a period, but granted a shorter one, and the inhabitants with his knowledge and consent petitioned General Gage, the Governor-General of North America, for a period of nine months' delay.

This petition was forwarded by Captain Stirling, the English commander, under date of October 18, 1765, and contained the names of the leading men of the day as follows: De Rocheblave, Lagrange, Gavobert Duplasy, Du Lude, Charleville, Aubuchon, Jr., Cerré, H. Brazeaux, Gandouin J. Baptiste Beauvais, Blouin, Tessier dit La Vigne, Mere Pilotte, Baptiste Moyot, Jaques Bileront, Hubert La Rue, De Girardot, Calamanderie, J. M. Mercier, Lonoval, Janis, Lachanse, J. Lasource, François Ricard.

Everyone of these prominent people, and some of them became even more prominent afterwards in the community, remained in Illinois until their death, so far as the records disclose, with the single exception of Rocheblave, who afterward became the Commandant for the English and was the representative of the British power in the place when George Rogers Clarke with the invaluable aid of Father Gibault captured the country and sent Rocheblave a prisoner to Virginia.[4]

There were many other influential men not named on the petition that remained, and many others came and stayed.

Amongst the important Frenchmen, men of the very highest standing, who were in Illinois around the early settlements of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher and Peoria at this period, may be named Nicholas Jarrett, who was in Illinois from 1794 to his death in 1832.[5] Jean Baptiste Saucier was one of the greatest among the

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[3] Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 161.

[4] Alvord and Carter, *The New Regime*, Illinois Historical Collection, Vol. XI, pp. 112, 113, 114.

[5] Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 211.

great men of early Illinois who remained here until his death. He was the father-in-law of such noted men in the future history of the community as Colonel Pierre Menard, Colonel Choteau, Sr., James Morrison and Adam Snyder.[6]

Jean François Perry was here from 1792 until his death.[7] He also married a daughter of Saucier. Michael LaCroix[8] was a very prominent Frenchman who remained here until the time of his death in 1821. The Quentine village was settled by De Lorme and a number of Frenchmen who came with him into the State in 1804. The Penseneaux[9] were some of the most prominent French people that ever came to Illinois, and the three brothers with their large families were here during that period.

August Choteau remained in the territory, and at the end of the War of 1812 was appointed one of the commissioners to treat with the Indians.[10]

As is well known, Pierre Menard was a leading public figure from the time he came into the territory until his death, being the leading spirit in the territorial legislature and the first Lieutenant-Governor of the State.[11]

The foregoing are but a few of the prominent Frenchmen and Catholics that remained in the territory during this darkest period of our history and bore nobly the extraordinary burdens of that time.

Judge Joseph Gillespie, one of the ablest of the early pioneers who knew most of the early Frenchmen of the period in question, says:

"Certain of these old French families have displayed a vigor and energy which cannot be surpassed. Take for instance the Choteaus, the Valles, the Pratts, the Gratiots, old Pierre Menard, and Nicholas Jarrot and his son Vital, were men whose lives were given to almost romantic business adventure. They were the first to develop the Missouri and Galena lead mines. The 'fur trade' was, by some of them, carried to a distance of thousands of miles. They had their trading posts all along the foot of the Rocky Mountains. They explored every river that runs into the Mississippi to its source in their trading excursions, and even took in New Mexico when it

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 268.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 287.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 350.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 362.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 369.
[11] See *Pierre Menard Papers*, Vol. IV, Chicago Historical Society's collections.

was a province of Spain. I know of none who has been so instrumental in bringing to light the inexhaustible resources of Missouri, and developing the iron industry of St. Louis, as Choteau, Harrison, and Valle.

"The 'Mound City' would never have been what she is but for the enterprise, judgment, and daring of these old French families.

"The old French inhabitants treated their slaves with great kindness; slavery, with them, was a kind of patriarchal institution.

"I regret that I am compelled to forbear any further consideration of the life and character of these eminent old French and Swiss pioneers. Without them, this country would not have been discovered so soon. Without them, we should have had greater difficulties to encounter from the Indians. They could penetrate farther into the Western wilds than the Americans. They were better acquainted with the Indian character than we were. To some of these we are largely indebted for services in more reecnt times. It may not be generally known, but it is nevertheless true, that one of the finest military engineers in the world was General Gratiot, who designed and constructed Fortress Monroe, and who, for a long time, was at the head of the engineering department of the United States. He was a man of the strictest integrity added to great professional ability. If that fortress had not been so formidable, and had fallen into the hands of the rebels, it might have cost greater efforts, and loss of life and treasure, to have maintained the supremacy of the laws and the integrity of the Union.

"General Gratiot belonged to one of those French families. I can say that, after devoting all his energies to the promotion of the welfare of his country, General Gratiot was poorly requited.

"Nicholas Jarrott, and his son Vital, also deserve favorable mention in this connection. The father was born in Rochelle, in France, and emigrated to this country at an early day, and settled in Cahokia, where his son was born. The old gentleman was ardently devoted to the institutions of our country. He directed his attention principally to business, in which he was highly successful, and died leaving a large estate to his numerous offspring.

"Vital Jarrott was a very enterprising, intelligent, and public-spirited citizen. Late in life he sunk a large fortune in endeavoring to sustain the East St. Louis rolling-mill, whereby he was reduced from affluence to poverty after he was seventy years of age. So punctiliously honest was he, that he paid out the last cent of his private means before one of the employes should suffer. His energy

was so great, however, that he pushed out, at the age of seventy-three, to try to retrieve his fortunes in the 'Black Hills,' where he died from toil and exposure not long ago.

"Mr. Lincoln was a warm friend and great admirer of Vital Jarrott, and almost forced upon him the office of Indian Agent. No better selection could have been made. He was honest, enlightened, and humane, and discharged the arduous duties of the position with remarkable ability and fidelity. He soon gained the confidence and respect of the Indians, and I feel sure that had it been retained, and his policy adopted, the relations between the whites and the aborigines would have been much more satisfactory than they are. He was intimately acquainted with the Indian character, having spent a good deal of time trading with them in the mountains, and he had just and humane views respecting the treatment they should receive. He did not adopt the prevalent dogma, that the 'red man had no rights that the white man was bound to respect.' He felt that the finger of destiny pointed unerringly to the speedy annihilation of the race, but he was for smoothing their pathway as much as possible.'"[12]

French in Chicago and Elsewhere in Illinois

The French connection with Illinois was not confined to Kaskaskia and the southwestern Illinois country. Frenchmen founded Chicago. When all the arguments are gone over from first to last, it will be plain to anyone who is willing to admit the truth that Antoine Ouilmette is known to have been around the site of Chicago several years before anyone else came here to reside permanently. I have before me a *fac simile* of a letter written for Ouilmette by James Moore, dated Racine, June 1, 1839, in which he says: "I caim into Chicago in the year 1790 in July.[13] Probably the next Frenchman and next white man was Francis Le Mai. Le Mai and Jean Baptiste Peltiere and their wives and families were living in Chicago in 1799 as appears from the baptismal record of the St. Louis Cathedral of October 7, 1779. Le Mai and Peltier had their children baptized that day in St. Louis by Father C. Lusson.[14]

The first white men to come to Chicago after the Fort Dearborn Massacre were Frenchmen including the Beaubiens, John Baptiste

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[12] *Recollections of Early Illinois and Her Noted Men*, pp. 7 and 8.

[13] McGovern, *New World*, April 14, 1900, p. 22.

[14] Garragahan, *Early Catholicty in Chicago*, Illinois Catholic Historical Review, Vol. I, No. 1, July, 1918, p. 19.

and Mark and their families,[15] Paul and Joseph La Framboise, Pierre Le Clerc and others.[16] At the time the town of Chicago was incorporated in 1831 there were about one hundred and forty people there,

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[15] In a letter just recently received from Frank G. Beaubien, now living at 5737 Race Avenue, Chicago, occurs the following:

"My father, Mark Beaubien, came to Chicago in the Fall of 1826 from Monroe, Michigan, to visit his brother Jean Baptiste Beaubien who was living here then. He then went back to Monroe and brought his family with him to Chicago in the spring of 1827.

"My uncle, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, visited Chicago as early as 1802, and again in 1804, buying furs from the Indians. He had a daughter born here in 1805 whose name was Marie Beaubien. The Church records of Detroit, Michigan, show her baptism and marriage record.

"We claim that we are the first Catholic family of Chicago. My brother, George W. Beaubien, being the first one baptized a Roman Catholic in Chicago, May 22, 1833, by Father St. Cyr. The record of his baptism may be seen in the records of Old St. Mary's church.

"My father bought a log cabin from John H. Kinzie, at the southeast corner of Market and Lake Street, and added a frame addition which was the first frame house built in Chicago. This was in 1830. Chicago was then in Peoria County, the county seat was Peoria, where the county records were kept. He named his hotel 'The Sauganash,' after an Indian chief, a friend of his. 'Sauganash' was his Indian name and he was a great friend to the Whites. His right name was William Caldwell, commonly called 'Billy Caldwell.' His father was an Irish colonel in the British army on the Detroit frontier, and whose name he bore. His mother was a Potawatomi Indian.

"There were about five Catholic families here and they held a meeting at the Sauganash to see about getting a priest and building a church here. Before this there used to come here a missionary priest, Father (Stephen Theodore) Badin, from the region of South Bend, Indiana. He would occasionally come here and celebrate Mass at the headquarters of Colonel Whistler in the garrison of Fort Dearborn. We wanted a resident priest here. At one of the meetings the Catholics communicated with Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, who in reply said he would send a priest to Chicago and told them to send someone to escort him. Anson H. Taylor was appointed to go after him. Taylor went to St. Louis, Missouri, on horseback and lead another horse for Father St. Cyr to ride back. They arrived here on the first of May, 1833.

"Father St. Cyr was received by my Father, Mark Beaubien, who gave him a kind hospitality in his hotel for over a year. My father owned a log cabin across the street from the 'Sauganash,' on the southwest corner of Market and Lake Streets. It was about twelve feet square. Here Father St. Cyr held services and said Mass until they finished the church which was located at the southwest corner of Lake and State Streets. Augustin Deodat Taylor was the builder of the church. These facts I got from my father."

(Signed) FRANK G. BEAUBIEN,
5737 Race Avenue, Chicago.

[16] Garraghan, *Early Catholicity in Chicago*, supra.

most of whom were French. Of men of distinction in early Chicago besides those already mentioned there were Joseph Baies, better known as Joseph Bailey, Medard Beaubien, a successful business man, and Charles Henry Beaubien, a graduate of Princeton College who became a teacher in Chicago in 1829, almost the first school teacher there.[17]

Tracing down to later years we find such prominent men as Peter de Mevelle, who came to Chicago in 1837. Later there were P. J. Rofino, David Franchere, Joseph le Pitre, Dr. Marguerat, Dr. Henrotin, J. Menard, P. L. Labbe, Joseph Poitras, Paul Populorum, Cyrril Le Beàu, J. B. Valliquet, Victor Gerardin, Duchene de Meville and others.[18] And still later such as G. Franchere, Z. P. Brosseau, M. Cyr, J. Plamondon, J. Chalifoux, N. Catellier, O. J. Franchere, Dr. Cyrier, N. Franchere, Dr. Q. L. Bergeron, J. A. Bell, P. Proteau, A. Plamondon, A. Brousseau, and others.

The first Catholic pastor, Rev. John Mary Iranaeus St. Cyr,[19] was a Frenchman and there were five French Catholic churches in Chicago at the beginning of the present century.

French at Kankakee

Kankakee County has always been a center of French and French Canadian population. Bourbonnais Grove is the place of pioneer settlement in that county and Noel Le Vasseur was the pioneer settler, coming there in 1832. He was soon joined by Henri Boucher, Dominique Brais, Louis Grandpre, Eloi Bergeron and John Flageole. They were all Catholics, and others followed them. They early sought the ministrations of religion and were honored by the visits of many distinguished early missionaries, amongst them, Father Lalumerie, Father Hypolite Dupontavice, Father Maurice de St. Palais, later the bishop of Vincennes, and later by Rev. Theodore Stephen Baden, the apostle of Kentucky and Indiana and the first priest ordained in the United States. Father Badin was ninety-eight years old when he went to Bourbonnais on this occasion.[20]

French Names in Western History

Amongst the deserving French pioneers of a later day than that of old Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, may be mentioned Pierre

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[17] Houghton, *Our Debt to the Red Man*, p. 105.

[18] McGovern, *New World*, April 14, 1900, p. 106.

[19] For Father St. Cyr's work in Chicago see Garraghan, *Early Catholicity in Chicago*, Illinois Catholic Historical Review, Vol. I, No. 1 and 2.

[20] McGovern, *New World*, April 14, 1900, p. 106.

La Clede, the founder of St. Louis and his but little less noted associate, Pierre Chouteau; Francis de Langlade of Wisconsin, Antoine Le Clair of Iowa, the founder of Davenport, the Baubiens of Chicago, Solomon Juneau and Joseph La Croix of Milwaukee, Louis Viviat of several lake states, Pierre Navarre, thirty-six of whose name and connectinns fought in the war of 1812, the Godefroi brothers and their numerous descendants whose name has become Godfrey.[21]

The Geography of Illinois bears the impress of the French in a long list of names of counties and cities, such as Champaign, Fayette, Hennepin, city and canal, Joliet, Lagrange, La Harp, La Salle, Marengo, Marseilles, Massac, Menard, Meredosia, Prairie du Rocher, Rochelle, Saint Anne, Toulon and others.

The reader interested in the record of the French in this part of the world or smarting under the neglect of these early benefactors will appreciate a little book written by Louise Seymour Houghton under the title *Our Debt to the Red Man, The French Indians in the Development of the United States.* In her introduction Mrs. Houghton says, "The American people influenced in childhood by school histories, based upon works of English origin, have not always entertained so high an estimate of the French people," and she proceeds to prove the excellent qualities of the French and to demonstrate the value of their admixture with the Indian. *French Colonists and Exiles in the United States,* by J. G. Rosengarten, is likewise an interesting publication.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in an article in the *Century* (September, 1891), "The Distribution of Ability in the United States," reprinted in his *Historical and Political Essays,* (Boston, 1892), says:

"If we add the French and the French Huguenots together, we find that people of the French blood exceed absolutely, in the ability produced, all other races represented in Appleton's Encyclopedia of American Biography, except the English and Scotch-Irish, and show a percentage in proportion to their original immigration much higher than that of any other race."

The French Forte

In the race for what is generally thought to be success, namely the acquisition of riches and power, it may perhaps be admitted that the French of the Middle West have been outrun, but as appears in

[21] See for all those noted mixed bloods Houghton, *Our Debt to the Red Man,* various chapters.

a charming personal letter from one of the ablest scholars and historians of my acquaintance who has not given me permission to use his name, there are considerations other than this kind of success. "If we take the pagan standards to measure our deeds," runs the letter, "They can outrank us. . . . A cannon makes a bigger noise than a silent prayer even in Gethsemane. Old Rome was a greater city than any that Christianity constructed in the heyday of its influence. . . . In the building of towns, construction of railroads, laying out of farms in Illinois, Catholics were not perhaps so enterprising as persons to whom these things are life and death, the be-all and end-all of their existence. But at that, even in the weakest periods Catholic influences were strong in the deeper things of life. The Frenchman, the hunter, has gone from American life; but this very year of grace his wife's and daughter's influence in holding high in the very heavens the ideal of domestic life—no divorce, patience unspeakable, love unquenchable—is one of the greatest moral forces in the civilization of this day. It was greater when more visible in former days; when too, the contrast with the wild American woman, pictured by Randolph as drinking her whiskey at the husking bees, was more apparent. This influence flowed from St. Louis into western Illinois, from Louisville into southern Illinois, and from Vincennes into your western window."

Frenchmen discovered, explored and settled Illinois. A French missionary planted Christianity in the State and for more than a century French priests spread the Gospel here. The French laid the foundations of our prosperity and transformed the wilderness into a civilized habitation. The Frenchmen of Illinois brought success to the Virginia conquest and gave the United States a vast empire. A French priest led in that the most important movement that ever occurred west of the Allegheny Mountains. Frenchmen gave the world the first and best example of civilizing the savage. But what profiteth it the Frenchman. So far as honors or distinctions are concerned it is as if he never had being. Tens of thousands, yea, hundreds of thousands of dollars, have been spent from the public treasury to raise monuments and tablets to men of note of Illinois, but so far as is known to the writer there has not been a single monument, tablet, or other memento raised or placed to any Frenchman at public expense within the limits of the entire state of Illinois.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

A BIT OF HISTORY OF THE FRANCISCANS IN ILLINOIS

Why They Emigrated From Germany

The city of Warendorf in Westfalia, a place of some seven thousand inhabitants, located on the meandering river Ems, harbors, in addition to two parish churches, a Franciscan monastery, the motherhouse of the "Saxonia province". The Fathers connected with the monastery did great missionary work both in the pulpit as well as the confessional, gave missions and retreats, assisted the secular clergy wherever needed and demanded. They were great favorites with the people, their hospitality became proverbial, whilst the needy poor at all times found in them generous benefactors. From this motherhouse they subsequently branched out into a number of other independent provinces such as in Holland, St. Louis, Missouri, Santa Barbara, California, and Brazil, South America.

The poor and humble friars are deserving well of Church and State, as to both they have at all times proven potent aids and intrepid and fearless champions, upholding right, defending authority and flaying vice and corruption wherever found. Moreover, they are powerful seconds to the secular clergy, thus fulfilling a mission for which their founder, St. Francis, had partly destined them.

Together with other allied religious orders, these Franciscans in 1875 fell under the bann of eviction and expulsion from their homes and fatherland. The omnipotent State had so decreed it. The Bismarckian era of church persecution had at that time reached its highest stage of iniquity. The odious Falk Laws, better known as May Laws, spared neither bishops nor priests, neither members of monasteries, congregations nor sisterhoods. There was no alternative left these unselfish benefactors of society and State than exile. And into exile they went. In those years there occurred a great exodus of saintly men and God-consecrated women, banished from their native soil, to whom the government any longer refused to accord an humble asylum. Men were among those exiled religious whose breasts had been decorated with the Iron Cross for valor and bravery shown on the battlefields of 1870-71, devoted women who on the fields of slaughter and carnage, as well as in hospitals, had nursed and

succored thousands of wounded and dying. Under the semitic leadership of this notorious Falk, then in possession of the portfolio of a Minister of Cult and Education, they were ordered to leave. Churches were closed, convents despoiled of their contents, and properties confiscated. The Bishop's residence in Muenster was forcibly entered, doors and windows battered down, furniture and library taken out into the street and auctioned off to the highest bidder, whilst the gentle prelate, Bishop Johann Bernard Brinkmann, languished behind iron bars in the district jail at Warendorf. At the expiration of his jail sentence this heroic Confessor of the Faith lived for several years incognito in a small village across the borders of Holland. A similar fate was meted out to that great champion of the Faith, Bishop Conrad Martin of Paderborn. Other bishops and archbishops, together with a number of their faithful priests, fared not better under this tyrannical Prussian regime. And what had been their criminal offences? Teaching Catechism in schools, hearing confessions, saying Mass and preaching in the pulpit, nursing the sick, smoothing the pillow of the dying, and taking care of homeless, parentless waifs. The omnipoent State sent its minions of the law, secret service men prowled about convents and monasteries, and upon a given signal the unwary inmates were dragged forth and jailed, sentenced and banished from their own native soil. So unbearable had become the lot of these religious that in great numbers they emigrated, seeking shelter and protection from the brutal forces of persecuting Prussia elsewhere. Wide were the doors of inviting hospitality thrown open to these proscribed men and women by Belgium and Holland, Spain and England, China and Japan, North and South America, even the far-away colonies of the South Sea beckoned these victims of religious intolerance to come and make their homes among them.

In close relationship and tendency with the infamous May Laws, whose ultimate object was the suppression of the Catholic faith and the subversion of the Church, we may mention the aggressiveness of two fanatical institutions, viz.: the *Evangelische Bund* and the *Los von Rom* movement, both countenanced, fostered and upheld by an inimical government. Whilst the anti-Catholic agitation, however, was loud and boisterous, shameless and impudent, there appeared upon the scene bold and fearless champions of the Church and her rights, the gallant founders of the grand Centre Party in the Reichstag, a Mallinckrodt, Lieber, Schorlemer, Windhorst, and others, all men of mental brilliancy and intellectual energy, of indomitable

fearlessness and convincing eloquence. Guided and encouraged in their verbal duels with their sworn antagonists in the debating arena of the Reichstag by the illustrious Pontiff Leo XIII, who then had ascended the chair of St. Peter, that autocratic German aggression was gradually brought to an end, the arrogant and vengeance-snorting Iron Chancellor Bismarck reluctantly confessing his defeat, or, as the popular phrase had it, "going to Canossa". The Church emerged from this warfare of hate and persecution, slander and villification victorious, the banished orders were gradually re-admitted to their former convents, even the much-maligned Jesuits enjoying again their former habitat on German soil.

In that year 1875 the good Franciscans had likewise to yield to autocratic, superior power. They emigrated from their beloved Convent-homes, which for centuries had been to them a haven of rest and refuge from a tumultuous, sinful world. Whither should they go? Some of their confréres had established themselves in 1858 at the instance of Bishop Damian Junker of Alton at Tentopolis. There they had started a small community and assumed parochial duties of the parish. For Teutopolis, then, they set out in 1875. It was a big caravan of Fathers, Brothers and Scholastics, numbering more than seventy. They arrived there early in July of that year. Leaving their beloved monasteries in the second week of June, they travelled by rail to Dusseldorf, where more Franciscans joind them, thence by steamer to Rotterdam, where they embarked and took passage on a steamer of the same name with Captain Koenig in command. On July 2 the exiles from Germany reached the port of New York safely without the least mishap. The old vessel "Rotterdam," which had borne the banished Franciscans to the new world, foundered at sea a few years later. On July 5 the evicted victims of Bismarckian ruthlessness and tyranny reached their destination in the land of tolerance and religious freedom, Teutopolis, Illinois. From that day dates a new era of prosperity and expansion of the Franciscans in America. Bismarck, with his implacable enmity towards the Church, has lamentably failed, while his gallant antagonists in the Reichstag, especially Windhorst, saw the ostracized victims of hate and intolerance gloriously vindicated. *Laus Deo!*

As supplement to the above, explanatory of the emigration of the Franciscan Fathers from inhospitable Germany to free America, it may be of interest to record that the chosen Moses and acknowledged leader of the band of exiles on that occasion was the Reverend Eugene Puers, O. F. M., who had had already previous

experience in America, with Reverend Damasus Ruesing, O. F. M., as helpful second. Both good priests are long since dead; the former died in Memphis, Tennessee, August 8, 1891, while the latter answered the supreme summons on the streets of Fulda in Germany, October 18, 1893, whither he had been recalled in the latter part of the 80's, dying a sudden death caused by an apopleptic stroke.

From among the number of these outlawed friars who landed at Teutopolis, several have risen to distinction and prominence, such as P. Bernard Doebbing, who became Bishop of the Italian Sees of Sutri and Nepi, P. Alfons Goetti, Bishop in the Chinese Missions of Shantung, P. P. Vincent, Cyprian, Benedict and Hugolin, Provincials of their order, whilst others were installed in minor and less responsible offices.

All these new comers to our American shores, however, proved themselves useful and zealous workers in the great cause of humanity, leaving to a younger generation bright and untarnished examples of true, ardent followers of their seraphic founder, St. Francis, chaste, humble and poor. The older members of that band of refugees have almost all gone to their graves, but few survive; small headstones in various cemeteries of the country mark their resting places. Some died during the yellow fever epidemic in the South, others succumbed early to exhaustion and over-work, whilst but few attained the biblical age of three score and ten.

The subsequent history of the Franciscans in Illinois and elsewhere, dating from the arrival en masse of these good Fathers in 1875 at Teutopolis, forms a glorious page of noble deeds well performed in the annals of American Church history.[1]

(Rev.) A. Zurbonsen.

Quincy, Illinois.

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[1] Rev. Silas Barth, O. F. M., of St. Joseph's Seminary, Teutopolis, Illinois, will write of the Franciscans in Illinois for the October and perhaps subsequent numbers of the Illinois Catholic Historical Review.—Ed.

MISFIT MONUMENTS

Memories of the Fort Dearborn Massacre*

Who Was David Kennison?

The mortal remains of David Kennison were, on the 25th day of February, 1852, interred in the city cemetery of the City of Chicago, now a part of Lincoln Park, and though most of the dead who were buried there were removed when the premises were taken over for park purposes, Kennison's was one of the graves that remained undisturbed. In 1905 the Kennison grave was rediscovered and a large granite monument erected thereat by several patriotic societies of Chicago.[1]

But, the question is asked, who was David Kennison? In his life time he declared he was one of the soldiers present and participating in the defense of the Fort Dearborn garrison on the fateful day of the Fort Dearborn massacre, August 15, 1812. And although his name was not mentioned in the contemporary accounts of the tragedy, the belief prevailed in Chicago at the time of his death and for many years prior thereto, and, so far as the writer is aware, still obtains, that he was a member of the ill-fated garrison.

So firmly, indeed, did Chicago believe in Kennison that the City Council purchased a lot in the City Cemetery for his interment and paid his funeral expenses, besides burying his remains with full military honors.[2]

According to the best information obtainable, Kennison was at Fort Dearborn as early as 1804, when the fort was first established. The records show that he enlisted (most likely a re-enlistment) in

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*The preparation of this article was begun as an answer to an inquiry made by the Chicago *Tribune* to test the memory of its readers. It was stated that the best answer to the inquiry would be published, and while we had no desire to enter a contest we had in mind the fact that the anniversary of the Fort Dearborn massacre was approaching and also that it was quite likely that some action might be considered with reference to memorials after the alteration of the streets in the neighborhood of the old fort. Before the article was complete the *Tribune* announced a change of plans as to publishing a single letter and published the substance of several answers sent in. Because of the length of this article it is doubtful if it could have found room in the columns of a daily, but we have thought in view of the now altered situation due to the establishment of new facts any new attempt at commemoration of this great tragedy ought to be influenced by these facts.

[1] Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 257.

[2] *Ibid.*

1808. His name appears on the muster roll of the garrison for May, 1812.[3]

According to his own story he was born in New Hampshire in 1736, was a member of the Boston Tea Party, a soldier of the Revolution, and fought in the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill.[4]

After the war of 1812 Kennison settled in New York and while in that state met with several serious mishaps. A tree fell upon him, fractured his skull and broke his collar bone and two ribs. At a military review a cannon was discharged near him and broke both his legs. A horse kicked him and left a deep scar on his forehead which he carried for the remainder of his life.

He came back to Chicago in 1845. Up to that date he had been married four times and had been the father of twenty-two children. He had become separated from all the members of his family, however, and lived precariously thereafter to the end of his life. He had an eight-dollar pension as a veteran of the Revolutionary War and did manual labor to supplement his little income until about 1848 when he entered the Chicago Museum as one of the curiosities, from necessity, as he explained. He was bed-ridden for twenty months before his death.[5]

If only a part of what is told of Kennison be true he was a remarkable character. To survive to the age of one hundred fifteen years and to remain active almost to the end, to have been of the Boston Tea Party and of the Fort Dearborn garrison and to have been seventy-six years old when attacked with the others and yet to survive the tragedy, all were notable circumstances.

It is pleasing to remember that Chicago people, believing in the old man, treated him well. Too often old, useless, garrulous people are put aside regardless of past services, especially if they have neither rank nor riches as was the case with poor old Dave Kennison. As will be seen, the others who helped defend Fort Dearborn have not been shown as much consideration as Kennison.

The Evacuation of Fort Dearborn

It is so long since the Fort Dearborn Massacre and so many great events have since occurred that have absorbed attention, many people now living in Chicago and trampling upon the same ground that was once familiar to Kennison and the other members of the Fort

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 256.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*

Dearborn garrison have either forgotten or never were familiar with the story of the awful tragedy of Fort Dearborn.

It is regrettable, too, that there have been serious errors made in the accounts that have been published and become current about the Massacre, and regrettable also that while some people who were connected with this great event in the history of Chicago received honors that were not their due, others very deserving have been neglected or overlooked.

Captain John Whistler established Fort Dearborn in 1803, and is justly entitled to be known as the Father and founder of Chicago.[6] That distinction has been repeatedly assigned to another, John Kinzie, who has no rightful claim thereto either by priority of residence or on account of his character or conduct. Whistler preceded Kinzie by near a year and was, as was all of his family, an eminently public-spirited man, as well as a man of high character.

Before the Fort Dearborn Massacre Captain Nathan Heald had succeeded to the command. British aggression had brought about a state of war between the United States and Great Britain and the British were inciting the Indians to hostilities against the Americans. Under these promptings the Indians became troublesome and made attacks upon some of the posts and threatened others. General William Hull was in general command of the Western posts and issued an order to Captain Heald to evacuate Fort Dearborn. He instructed him to give the goods at the fort to the Indians and arrange for a transfer of the garrison to Detroit or Fort Wayne. Heald let it be known that he had orders to evacuate and all the other officers and especially Ensign George Rowan (quite generally called Ronan) who was third in command, opposed evacuation. In spite of the protests, joined in also by Captain William Wells who came with thirty Miami Indians from Fort Wayne to assist the garrison, Heald insisted upon evacuating the fort and entered into an agreement with the Indians to that effect, the Indians promising not to molest the garrison and to grant them safe conduct.

Accordingly all was set in readiness for the evacuation. In addition to the garrison there were in the neighborhood of the fort at that time fifteen men, civilians, besides John Kinzie and Antoine Ouilmette. Three of these civilians disappeared before the morning of the evacuation. Antoine Ouilmette does not appear to have been near the fort at the time, and John Kinzie, although he moved his family into the fort and was present, did not participate in the fight.

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[6] Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 148.

The twelve civilians had a short time prior to the massacre formed themselves into a militia company with Thomas Burns as sergeant and marched out with the regulars. There were present in the evacuating body nine women and eighteen children, all of whom except the wives of Captain Heald and Lieutenant Linai T. Helm, who rode on horseback with their husbands, were placed in wagons and when the march began were in the rear.[7]

The Massacre

The garrison consisted of fifty-five officers and men and there was of the force, also, Captain William Wells, with thirty Miami Indians, who came from Fort Wayne to assist the Fort Dearborn garrison and a militia company of twelve residents.

As the account will be remembered, Captain Wells with his Miami lead the procession, next came the regulars, then the militia and lastly the women and children in the wagons, guarded by Ensign Rowan, Sergeant Otho Hayes, and the twelve militiamen.

It will be remembered that the party had scarcely more than left the fort when the treacherous Indians began their preconcerted attack and the short, sharp battle which preceded the massacre took place.

As has been before noted, Ensign Rowan was the most outspoken in his opposition to the evacuation of the fort. He had not only opposed surrender and urged resistance, but had denounced the proposed evacuation as cowardly and unworthy and predicted that the Indians would be false to their promises and would use the advantage of their greatly superior number to slaughter the garrison in the open. When the fight begun, however, amongst all the contenders, save perhaps the gallant Captain Wells alone, Rowan proved the boldest and most valorous defender and sold his life at a higher price than any of his fellows. In the best account which we have of this sanguinary battle Rowan is singled out as the hero of the fight. In *Waubun*, Mrs. Juliet A. Kinzie, who was present during the battle, is reported as saying to Doctor Isaac Van Voorhis, surgeon's mate of the garrison, whom she says was acting in a cowardly way:

"I pointed to Ensign Rowan, who though mortally wounded and nearly down, was still fighting with desperation on one knee: 'Look at that man,' said I, 'at least he dies like a soldier.' "[8]

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[7] For the story of the massacre see, Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest; Waubun;* Kirkland, *The Chicago Massacre;* Andreas, *History of Chicago;* Kirkland, *Story of Chicago;* Currey, *Chicago, Its History and Its Builders;* Gordon, *The Fort Dearborn Massacre.*

[8] See Nellie Kinzie Gordon, *The Fort Dearborn Massacre,* p. 56.

Again Mrs. Kinzie says:

"I vividly recalled a remark of Ensign Rowan, as the firing went on. 'Such,' turning to me, 'is to be our fate—to be shot down like brutes.'"

"'Well, sir,' said the commanding officer who overheard him, 'are you afraid?'

"'No,' replied the high-spirited young man, 'I can march up to the enemy where you dare not show your face.' And his subsequent gallant behavior showed this was no idle boast.'"[9]

The women and children were singled out for especial brutality of the savages and the fighting was desperate in that quarter. There Sergeant Hayes, giving his best efforts for the protection of the helpless women and children, is in mortal conflict with several savage beasts, and after he had a ball through his body is pressed by a giant Indian, Chief Naw-non-gee, whom he succeeds in bayoneting, but just as his blade pierces the savage, the tomahawk in the Indian's hand falls upon the head of the helpless sergeant, he falls, is set upon by other savages and killed.[10]

Even while the fierce fight wages between Hayes and Naw-non-gee a multitude of Indians have beaten down the little band of militiamen and killed outright all save Sergeant Burns. He has been wounded and while lying helpless is brutally killed with a stable fork by a mad squaw. The brave fellow had the good fortune to be remembered, and the soldierly bearing with which he fought to the last against overwhelming odds is mentioned in a letter of Sergeant Griffith, a survivor of the fight, to Captain Heald.[11]

The wagons now cleared of their defenders, the women and children are attacked by the brutal savages and beaten, lacerated, and many of them killed, not, however, without any effort on the part of the little band at self-defense. In this attack a heroic figure, that of Susan Corbin, the wife of Phelim Corbin, one of the soldiers of the garrison, stands out. Like a tigress she defends her young and her companions. She has possessed herself of a sword and with it she lay about her, striking down a savage brute here and there. She sees her little children grabbed up by the fiends making the attack and

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 59, also Quaife, p. 229.

[11] Sergeant Burns is the "'01' Tom Burns" of Parrish's *When Wilderness Was King*. An eye witness speaks of "the soldierlike conduct of ——— Burns while engaged with an unequal force of savages and the manner in which he was inhumanly murdered (in your presence) after he was a prisoner." Griffith to Heald, quoted in Quaife, p. 234.

their brains dashed out against the walls of a nearby building.[12] At length she is overcome, brutally murdered, and being in an advanced state of pregnancy, her child is cut from her very womb and killed before her dying eyes.[13]

Of Susan Corbin's heroic resistance Mrs. Kinzie in her *Waubun* says: "The heroic resolution shown during the fight by the wife of one of the soldiers, a Mrs. Corbin, deserves to be recorded. She had from the first expressed the determination never to fall into the hands of the savages, believing that their prisoners were invariably subjected to tortures worse than death. When, therefore, a party came upon her to make her prisoner she fought with desperation, refusing to surrender, although assured by signs of safety and kind treatment. Literally she suffered herself to be cut to pieces rather than become their captive."[14]

The brave Captain William Wells also sold his life dearly. So well did he impress the savages with his bravery that when they had killed him by foul means they cut out his heart and dividing it in small pieces several Indians ate of it in the belief that such act would make them brave like the murdered Captain.[15]

Irony in the Bestowal of Honors

The story of the Fort Dearborn Massacre is an oft-told tale, and the memory of it has been perpetuated, but in a strange manner. A statue has been erected at the corner of Prairie Avenue and Eighteenth Street, approximating the point of attack by the Indians,[16] and a tablet was set in the wall of a building near the Rush

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[12] "White Elk, an Indian chief and the tallest I ever saw, was pointed out to me as the savage that dashed out the brains of the children of Sukey Corbin against the side of this very (her Father's) house." Letter of Mrs. Callis quoted in Hurlburt, *Chicago Antiquities*, p. 105.

[13] The *Niles Register* of October 23, 1812, stated: "Mrs. Corbin, wife of Phelim Corbin, in an advanced stage of pregnancy, was tomahawked, scalped, cut open and had the child taken out of her womb and its head cut off." See also Kirkland, *Chicago Massacre of 1812*, p. 119.

[14] Gordon, *The Fort Dearborn Massacre*, p. 63.

[15] Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 228. "They cut off his head and put it on a pole, took out his heart and having divided it among the chiefs ate it up raw." Letter of Jordan in *Niles Register*, May 8, 1813, quoted and discussed in Quaife, pp. 394-5-6.

[16] The statue is the gift of George M. Pullman. The scene depicted is that of Black Partridge, an Indian chief, rescuing Mrs. Linai T. Helm from another Indian. The prostrate figure is that of Dr. Isaac Van Voorhis, and the figure of a child represents the murdered children. See *Currey*, Vol. I, pp. 69, 70.

Street Bridge,[17] (the building is being remodeled and the tablet has been removed for the present). One of our streets has been named Wells Street[18] and a monument has been erected to David Kennison in Lincoln Park (while that portion of the park was a burying ground). The persons specifically honored by these monuments are: the wife of Lieutenant Linai T. Helm, the stepdaughter of John Kinzie, who was slightly wounded but not imprisoned or afterwards molested; Dr. Isaac Van Voorhis, the surgeon's mate, who is described as acting in a cowardly manner during the fight; two Potawatomi Indians of the attacking party, the little children, Captain William Wells, and David Kennison. As for Kennison it should be remembered that there is really nothing whatever to indicate that he was in the fight except his statement alone. In passing it should be noted that all these little attempts at honor, whether rightly or wrongly bestowed, are, except in the case of the naming of Wells Street, purely private efforts. The City or the State or the United States have never done anything to memorialize this great tragedy of pioneer days.

Real Heroes Unsung

It seems proper also to point to the fact that the real heroes of this early stand for civilization, namely: Ensign George Rowan, Sergeant Otho Hayes, Sergeant Thomas Burns, and Susan Corbin deserve to have their names perpetuated to all generations of men and women of Chicago and of Illinois, and that the names of those who fought and those who died should be familiar to us their heirs and beneficiaries.

Of those who marched out of Fort Dearborn on that fateful August morning in 1812, twenty-six men of the garrison were killed in the fight,[19] eleven died of wounds after the fight or were killed by

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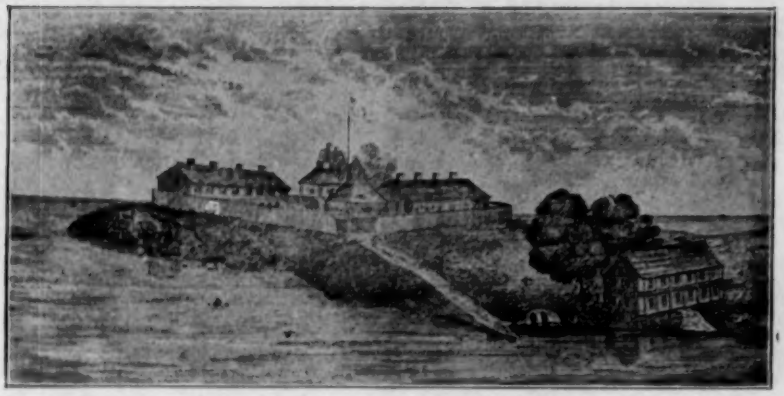
[17] Mr. William M. Hoyt, a member of the Chicago Historical Society, had the tablet prepared and it was unveiled under the auspices of the Chicago Historical Society in 1881. Mr. Hoyt presented the tablet to the City of Chicago, to be under the control of the Chicago Historical Society, in whose possession it now is awaiting a place in the new arrangement of the street.

[18] This, the only honor deservedly bestowed, has been in a sense curtailed by changing the name of the street to Fifth Avenue. As the result of more or less indignant protest the name has been changed again to Wells Street.

[19] Those killed in the battle were: George Rowan, ensign; Isaac Van Voorhis, surgeon's mate; Isaac Holt, sergeant; Otho Hayes, sergeant; Thomas Forth, corporal; George Burnett, fifer; Hugh McPherson, drummer; John Hamilton, drummer. Privates: John Allen, George Adams, Priestley Andrews, Asa Campbell, Stephen Draper, Nathan A. Hurtt, Rhodias Jones, Samuel Kilpatrick, John Kelso, Jacob Landon, Frederick Locker, Peter Miller, William Moffett, William Prickett, Frederick Peterson, David Sherror, James Starr, John Simmons.



THE FIRST FORT DEARBORN

Built by Captain John Whistler in 1803 and partially destroyed at the time of the Indian Massacre, August 15, 1812. The separate building was the agency house, called "Cobweb Castle". (Courtesy of Chicago Historical Society.)

CHICAGO IN 1804

From picture belonging to the Chicago Historical Society and reproduced in Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders.*

their captors,[20] three women[21] and twelve children[22] were killed, eighteen men,[23] six women[24] and six children[25] survived. Besides these the twelve militiamen were killed. Of the survivors but few were ever afterwards heard of.[26] Shall the memory of these heroic dead and neglected survivors remain unhonored?

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[20] Those killed after the fight were: Micajah Dennison, private, badly wounded in the fight, tortured to death during the night. John Furey, same. Richard Garner, same. William N. Hunt, private, frozen to death while still in captivity. James Latta, tortured to death night after massacre. Michael Lynch, badly wounded in fight, killed by the Indians en route to the Illinois River. Hugh Logan, private, tomahawked in captivity because he was not able from exhaustion to keep up with the fleeing Indians. August Mortt, tomahawked in captivity for the same reason. John Needs, private, died in captivity. Thomas Poindexter, private, tortured to death night after the massacre. John Suttenfield, private, badly wounded in fight, killed by the Indians while en route to the Illinois River.

[21] The women killed were: Susan Corbin, wife of Phelim Corbin. Cicely, negro slave of wife of Captain Heald. The wife of John Needs died in captivity after the battle.

[22] No one has been able to ascertain exactly the identity of the twelve children that were killed. Neither Mrs. Heald nor Mrs. Helm had any children. All the other women had one or more. Most of the children were killed by a single Indian who boarded the wagon and killed the helpless little ones before anyone could intervene. It is known that Mrs. Corbin's children were killed, that the slave girl had a child that was killed. The Needs child was tied to a tree and left behind to die. It is likely that all of the mothers, namely, Mrs. Corbin, Mrs. Lee, Mrs. Holt, Mrs. Burns, Mrs. Simmons, Mrs. Needs, and Black Cicely lost a child or children. The fate of the twelve-year-old Lee girl was sad. She was tied on horseback and her horse ran away, throwing and dragging her, so that she was mortally injured. Black Partridge caught the horse, but seeing the girl was mortally injured, put her out of suffering with a blow of his tomahawk.

[23] The men of the garrison who survived were: Nathan Heald, captain; Linai T. Helm, first lieutenant; John Crozier, sergeant; William Griffith, sergeant; Joseph Bowen, corporal; John Smith, fifer. Privates: James Corbin, Phelim Corbin, Dyson Dyer, Daniel Dougherty, Nathan Edson, Paul Grummo, David Kennison, Duncan McCarty, Elias Mills, Joseph Noles, John Smith, James Van Horn.

[24] The women who survived were: Mrs. Heald, Mrs. Helm, Mrs. Lee, Mrs. Holt, Mrs. Burns, and Mrs. Simmons.

[25] Of the six children that survived the fight, it has been seen that one, the Needs child, was tied to a tree and left to die; of the other five, two belonged to Mrs. Burns, and one each to Mrs. Simmons, Mrs. Holt and Mrs. Lee.

[26] Mrs. Lee, who survived, had quite a romance as described in *Waubun*. Mrs. Burns was afterwards known to be in Detroit. Mrs. Simmons and her daughter had a most thrilling after-experience. All that is known of these unhappy victims can be found in Quaife's admirable book, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*.

The neglect of the memory of the worthy victims of this early tragedy is more marked by reason of the contrast in honors paid to others less worthy as especially illustrated in the case of the Kinzies. As has before been suggested, Kinzie was present but avoided any part in the sanguinary conflict and managed to preserve himself and his family. As is said by Quaife, "Kinzie and his family passed through the massacre unscathed."[27] After the massacre he and other survivors were protected and assisted by two worthy men, William Caldwell[28] and Alexander Robinson,[29] Indian chiefs who arrived too

[27] Page 268, note 69.

[28] Caldwell, familiarly known as "Billy Caldwell" amongst the white people and as "Straight Tree" and "The Sauganash" or Britisher among the Indians, was born in Canada about 1780. His father was an Irish officer in the British service and his mother a Potawatomi Indian, a relative of Tecumseh. He was educated by the Jesuits at Detroit, spoke fluently and wrote with facility both the English and French languages and spoke a number of Indian dialects. He had a fine physique, strong and sinewy and straight as an arrow. For many years Caldwell was Tecumseh's associate and interpreter and represented him frequently. He fixed his residence in Chicago in 1820, but had often been in the neighborhood before. His timely appearance after a desperate effort to reach here at the time of the massacre saved many lives and put an end to the Indian orgy. Caldwell after his residence in Chicago became a man of prominence. He many times protected the white inhabitants from harm by the Indians and retained a very strong influence over the Indians. He was judge of elections on more than one occasion and was appointed Justice of the Peace in the county. He prevented his tribe joining in the Blackhawk war and was rewarded by the government by a land grant. When the government ordered the removal West of the Indians, it was Caldwell's influence and his agreement to accompany them to their new home that persuaded them to leave peacefully. He died at Council Bluffs, Iowa, whence he had removed with his tribe, in 1841. Caldwell was a Catholic and one of the signers of the petition for a priest for Chicago. For good sketch see Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders*, pp. 123-4.

[29] Alexander Robinson was a chief of the Potawatomi, his mother an Indian and his father a Scotchman. He was in Chicago as early as 1809 and at the time of the Fort Dearborn massacre was friendly to the whites. After the evacuatoin and massacre he took the Kinzie family to St. Joseph in a boat and then took Captain Heald and his wife to Mackinac in a canoe. Later he gave a home to the Kinzie family who took refuge with him at St. Joseph. Robinson was the first man to return to the site of Chicago after the massacre. When he came back in 1814 he found old, faithful Antoine Ouilmette here. He had never left. These two were the only white men here for the next two years. They planted the site of Fort Dearborn in corn and when Major Bradley arrived in 1816 to rebuild the fort, Robinson and Ouilmette sold their standing crops to him for the government. Robinson became government interpreter. He was married to Catherine Chevalier on September 28, 1826. She was the daughter of

late to prevent the massacre, but who by their prompt and decisive action prevented further slaughter. They, too, are entitled to have their names inscribed upon the roll of honor, but like the rest of the heroes of that bloody day they are virtually unknown, while Kinzie, though neutral in the fight, quite unconventional to say the least in his marital relations,[30] a slave holder[31] and a homicide,[32] has been

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François Chevalier, chief of a Potawatomi band, and upon the death of Chevalier, Robinson became chief. He joined with Caldwell and Shabona, another Indian chief, in maintaining friendly relations between the Indians and the whites and helped to prevent the Potawatomi from joining Blackhawk. Robinson did not go West with the Indians but settled on his reservation allotted him by the government on the Desplaines River, where he died April 22, 1872. See Currey, p. 122. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I, p. 108. Robinson also was a Catholic, one of the signers of the petition for a priest for Chicago and of the first congregation of Old St. Mary's. See Garraghan, *Early Catholicity in Chicago*, ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2.

[30] Some years before coming to Chicago, Kinzie lived with Margaret McKenzie (it is not known whether they were married or not) and her sister Elizabeth sustained a similar relation to a Scotchman named Clark. Quite a romance has been woven around the circumstance. The McKenzie girls were supposed to have been stolen by Indians and to have been rescued by Kinzie and Clark, but after several years and after three children had been born to Kinzie and two to Clark, along came Isaac McKenzie, the father of the girls, and away went the McKenzie women and their children with Father McKenzie. "Conflicting explanations, colored in each case by partisan pride, have been given as the reasons of the untimely breaking up of these two families. Since the only evidence in the premises is family tradition, it seems vain to seek to determine where the truth lies. Margaret McKenzie later married Benjamin Hall while her sister became the wife of Jonas Clybourn. Two of the former children by Kinzie, James and Elizabeth, in later years came to Chicago; so too did the Halls and the Clybourns; and these various family groups comprised a considerable proportion of the population of Chicago in the later twenties. . . . For obvious reasons the Kinzie family historian makes no mention in *Wau Bun* of this feature of her father-in-law's career. Mr. Clarence M. Burton has a genealogy (Ms.) of the Kinzie family, to which descendants respectively of John Kinzie's first and second families have contributed their views concerning the legitimacy of the former." In 1798 Kinzie married Mrs. Eleanor McKillip, who was the mother of Margaret McKillip that became the wife of Lieutenant Linai T. Helm. She became the mother of Kinzie's Chicago family. On this subject see Blanchard, *The Northwest and Chicago;* Hurlbut, *Chicago Antiquities;* Andreas, *Chicago;* Gordon, *John Kinzie, the Father of Chicago.* Footnote in Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, pp. 146-7.

[31] Jeffrey Nash was indentured to John Kinzie and Thomas Forsyth on May 22, 1804, while the site of Chicago was a part of Wayne County, Indiana, under the government of the Territory of Indiana. After being held as a slave for many years, Nash ran away and made his way eventually to New Orleans. Kinzie and Forsyth sought to recover possession of him through court proceedings in

held up as the "Father and Founder" of Chicago, honored by the name of a city street, he and his family enriched by government bounties[33] and reputed worthy of exaltation and reverence.

CONTRIBUTED.

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the courts of Louisiana, which eventually reached the Supreme Court and were decided adversely to Kinzie and Forsyth on the ground that the Ordinance of 1787 for the Government of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River forbade slavery. See *Kensy and Forsyth*, plaintiffs, vs. *Jeffry Nash*, defendant, 2 Martin, (Louisiana Supreme Court Reports), 180.

[32] A few weeks before the Fort Dearborn massacre John Kinzie stabbed John La Lime to death outside Fort Dearborn. The Kinzie family tradition represents that La Lime was jealous of Kinzie and attacked him and that Kinzie acted in self defense. "La Lime's side of the story has not been preserved, except in the form of unreliable verbal tradition, which pictures Kinzie in the light of aggressor and murderer." Read Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, pp. 148-9, on this subject.

[33] It will prove interesting to read Mr. Quaife's analysis of the claims filed by the Kinzie heirs and allowed to them by the government in the Indian treaties, found on pp. 361-365. A summary reads: "Of the one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars paid out under Schedule B, over one-eighth was given to the four sons and daughters of John Kinzie, and to his step-daughter, Mrs. Helm." Mr. Quaife makes it appear quite plainly that they were not very clearly entitled to the payments.

OLD KASKASKIA DAYS AND WAYS

The Martyrdom of D'Artaguette, Vincennes and Father Senat

It was a chilly day in January, 1736, when a "canot-maitre" came up the river and stopped at Old Kaskaskia. People were wearing buffalo robe coats and worsted stockings and were stamping around the landing watching the big ice cakes whirl down the rapid-running Mississippi. In the stern of the canoe was a man wrapped in a couple of blankets; his nose was blue and his teeth chattered when he asked if Major D'Artaguette was in Kaskaskia. The major happened to be there on that day and the stranger walked rapidly up to the town, leaving his men to take care of themselves as best they could. The curious followed after and soon it was noised about that Captain Le Blanc was come from New Orleans with news that a great campaign was to be commenced against the Chickasaws, and now couriers pushed across country to order Sieur Vincennes, who was well known to Kaskaskia people as a nephew of Joliet's and a brave fighter, to gather together his French militia and Miami Indians and join D'Artaguette down the river. Orders were also sent to Moncherval at Cahokia to bring his Cahokias and Mitchigamias from the Illinois, and chiefs of the Kaskaskias and Missouris were hastening to their lodges to light the fires and dance the war dance. The trappers and hunters from many a winter hut on the Kaskaskia and the Merrimac came quickly to town and there was a general burnishing and sharpening of arms and tinkering with batteaux and canoes. For everyone hated the Chickasaws because they had cut off many a boat load of furs and flour on the way to New Orleans and many a family had lost a voyageur.

It was a long time though, as things go, before they were ready, and not till late in February did the expedition start. After a special Mass in the little church and a long procession to the boats the old men, the women and the children, saw the thirty regular troops with the white coats, the blue epaulets, and the funny hats, with the bright-eyed D'Artaguette and the black-robed Father Sénat at their head, and the one hundred militia of the wood and river men, in white capots and elk-skin leggings, take to the boats. Then came the two hundred Illinois and Missouri Indians properly bedecked in paint and feathers, in their log canoes. Many an eye was sad, for

the Chickasaws were valiant warriors; but there was a great chatter of *bon voyage* and a great waving of caps and handkerchiefs as the long procession dropped down the river and faded away. It was many weeks before Moncherval and his Cahokias passed on the same errand and then there were weeks of weary waiting.

The Tragic Tidings

It was Sunday in old Kaskaskia and the cherry blossoms had come and gone, the June was here and the full-leaved cottonwoods were dipping thirstily to the stream on the river banks. The whole population had gone to the church and the morning service was just finished when a man with his clothing torn and bloody, with a face that looked like a death's head and eyes that were burning up with fever staggered to the door. A woman cried, "Jules," and the priest stopped in his concluding remarks. The man walked in with his cap on, and, like a child who has a confession to make, began to speak hurriedly and with all his soul alert, and as he spoke, he feebly waved his hands as one who seeks for air and gets it not.

" 'Tis malediction I bring to you blessed ones, but I must tell it now and quickly. We went to Fort Prudhomme with the Major, and Vincennes joined us with twenty French and one hundred Miamis. We waited long for Bienville; he came not; we waited longer for Moncheval, he was not there. Our maize and hog meat ran short; our Inidans were clamorous to begin. We marched alone to the attack. We marched a weary twenty leagues and came to the towns of the Chickasaws; they were awaiting us, and we were forced to attack. We pass two lines of fortification. We are successful but we pay the price. At the third line D'Artaguette falls severely wounded. The Miamis betray us; the Illinois and Missouris run like sheep. They who were so eager to fight are cowards when we need them. We try to drag Father Sénat and Vincennes away but they will not come and leave their wounded friend. These, with fifteen others are taken by the fiends. I hang around to try and help them. Bienville attacks from the other side and is defeated with great loss. them. We try to drag Father Sénat and Vincennes away, but they of the Chickasaws. Then comes a day of feasting and noise and in the afternoon they bring out the French. They tie them by fours to saplings and dance the death dance, while I watch from a near-by tree. They build piles of hickory poles in circles around them and set fire to the poles, and when the fires burn down they rush in toward them in crowds; they stick them with the hot poles; they discharge

their guns loaded only with powder into their bodies. Ah, Jesus. I hear their hateful screams and above all the din the song of Sénat as he chanted his requiem Mass. My ears ring with it. My eyes burn with the sight, until I cannot eat or sleep. And then there was silence and they are all dead—all! all!" And while he said this the people of Kaskaskia stood and listened and shivered, first a sweat and then a fever, and little groans ran through the crowd and lips were bleeding and hands were clenched and when the man threw up his hands and fell full length on the floor, it was as if a demon had seized the crowd for it rushed out the doors as if with a common impulse to seek the pure, fresh air.[10]

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[10] D'Artaguette, the pride and flower of Canada, had convened the tribes of the Illinois at Fort Chartres; he had unfolded to them the plans and designs of the great French captain against the Chickasas, and invoked their friendly aid. At his summons, the friendly chiefs, the tawny envoys of the North, with 'Chicago' at their head, had descended the Mississippi to New Orleans, and there had presented the pipe of peace and friendship to the governor. "This," said Chicago to M. Ferrier, as he concluded an alliance offensive and defensive, "this is the pipe of peace or war. You have but to speak, and our braves will strike the nations that are your foes." They had made haste to return, and had punctually convened their braves under Artaguette. Chicago was the Illinois chief from the shore of Lake Michigan, whose monument was reared, a century afterward, upon the site of the village, and whose name is perpetuated in the most flourishing city of Illinois.

In due time, D'Artaguette and his lieuteant, the gallant Vincennes, from the Wabash, with their respective forces and Indian allies, had descended the Mississippi to the Chickasa Bluff, and, agreeably to his orders, had penetrated the Chickasa country, and, on the evening before the appointed 10th of May, had encamped among the sources of Yalobusha, probably not six miles east of the present town of Pontotoc, near the appointed place of rendezvous, and not more than thirty miles from the point of Bienville's debarkation. Here, ready for co-operation with the commander-in-chief, D'Artaguette and his brave troops were prepared to maintain the arms and honor of France.

With his lieutenant, Vincennes, the youthful Voison, and his spiritual guide and friend, the Jesuit Senat, D'Artaguette sought in vain for intelligence of his commander. But he maintained his post, and from the 9th until the 30th of May he encamped in sight of the enemy, until his Indian auxiliaries, becoming impatient for war and plunder, refused all further restraint. D'Artaguette then consented to lead them to the attack. His plans were wisely devised and vigorously executed; but, unsupported by the main army, what could he effect against a powerful enemy?

The attack was made with great fury against a fortified village; the Chickasas were driven from their town and the fort which defended it; at the second town, the intrepid youth was equally successful. A third fort was attacked, and, in the moment of victory, he received a severe wound, and soon after another, by which he fell disabled. He distinguished himself, as he had

D'Artaguette's Successors

After the cruel death of D'Artaguette, Alphonse de la Buissoniere was sent to Fort Chartres; in 1739 he led the Kaskaskians again to war on the Chickasaws. In 1740 came Captain Benoist de St. Clair and in 1743 Chevalier de Bertel. In 1744 the war with England brought many apprehensions to old Kaskaskians; the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 allayed the suspense, but you must remember that it was months before it was known at Kaskaskia.

In 1749 came back the popular Captain St. Clair who married a daughter of the town on his arrival. In 1751 came Chevalier de McCarty, an Irishman by descent and a Major of Engineers. He built the new stone Fort Chartres, said to have cost a million dollars. It was finished in 1756. Now came the seven years war with England, beginning with Fort Necessity and Braddock's defeat followed by Louisbourg and finally by Quebec. Kaskaskians saw George Washington march out of Fort Necessity and tramp back to Virginia. Kaskaskians shot at him on Braddock's field. Kaskaskians were at

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done before in the Natchez war, by acts of great valor and deeds of noble daring. "The Red Men of Illinois, dismayed at the check, fled precipitately. Voisin, a lad but sixteen years old, conducted the retreat, having the enemy at his heels for five-and-twenty leagues, and marching forty-five leagues without food, while his men carried with them such of the wounded as could bear the fatigue." But the unhappy D'Artaguette was left weltering in his blood, and around him lay others of his bravest troops. The Jesuit Senat might have fled; but he remained to receive the last sigh of the wounded, regardless of danger, and mindful only of duty. "Vincennes, too, the Canadian, refused to fly, and shared the captivity of his gallant leader."

D'Artaguette and his valiant companions who fell into the hands of the Chickasas were treated with great kindness and attention; their wounds dressed by the Indians, who watched over them with fraternal tenderness, and they were received into the cabins of the victors in hopes of a great ransom from Bienville, who was known to be advancing by way of the Tombigby with a powerful army. But the same day brought the intelligence of the advance and the discomfiture of the commander-in-chief. His retreat and final departure soon followed, and the Chickasas, elated with their success, and despairing of the expected ransom, resolved to sacrifice the victims to savage triumph and revenge. The prisoners were taken to a neighboring field, and while one was left to relate their fate to their countrymen, the young and intrepid D'Artaguette, and the heroic Vincennes, whose name is borne by the oldest town in Indiana, and will be perpetuated as long as the Wabash shall flow by the dwellings of civilized men, and the faithful Senat, true to his mission, were, with their companions, each tied to a stake. Here they were tortured before slow and intermitting fires, until death mercifully released them from their protracted torments." Monette's *Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*. See also for an account of the martryrdom of Father Senat, Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 68, pp. 309-310.

Quebec and saw Wolfe storm the heights of Abraham, and Wolfe and Montcalm die gloriously on that field where the lilies of France in the New World were eaten up by the English lion.

The English Regime

By the peace of 1763 Kaskaskia became English, but it was not until the first week of October, 1765, that Captain Thomas Sterling came from Fort Pitt with 100 Highlanders of the 42nd to take possession of Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres. It fell to the lot of Captain St. Ange de Bellerive to deliver up the possession.

On Dec. 4, 1765, came Major Robert Farmar from Mobile with a strong detachment of the 34th foot, then Colonel Cole and Capt. John Reed. Lieut. Col. John Wilkins of the 18th Royal Regiment of Ireland, came from Philadelphia in 1768; his administration was unpopular. His successor, Capt. Hugh Lord of the 18th British Regiment came in 1771, and staid until 1775. In the freshet of 1772 one wall and bastion of Fort Chartres was undermined by the Mississippi River and fell; and the garrison was hastily transported to Kaskaskia which came back to its own as the capital. Fort Gage, just across the Kaskaskia river, was renovated and remained the seat of British authority on the Mississippi until the conquest by George Rogers Clark in 1778. When the English took actual possession of Kaskaskia, many of the wealthiest people, although they were permitted the free exercise of religion, would not be ruled by the English and departed for Louisiana or to St. Genevieve and St. Louis. The Jesuits had been banished from France in 1764 and soon after the order was condemned by the Pope.

The French method of government by a commandant and the parish priest was not suited to the Saxon education or temperment. The bulk of the population however remained in Kaskaskia for the English occupation was not a real settlement but only a military occupation.

American Ascendency

I shall not attempt to portray in detail the conquest of Kaskaskia by George Rogers Clark and his four small companies of rangers. How he assembled them at the head waters of the Ohio; brought them down in boats to Southern Illinois; made the weary march across the wilderness; surprised M. Rocheblave the Frenchman and English governor; how he took the town and by efficient aid of Gibault retained it and made our peace with the assembled Algonquin

tribes.[11] • • • I shall only point out how all the past dovetailed in to make our position more secure. If valiant old Champlain in his suit of plate armor had not met the Iroquois in the early part of the seventeenth century and thus obtained the fealty of the western tribes by antagonizing their mortal enemies, the eastern sea coast would have been an easier prey for the French. But, on the other hand, Father Marquette and the voyagers could not have made friends with theAlgonquins. If France had not made a treaty of alliance with the United Colonies in February, 1778, Clark could not have secured the willing aid of the Kaskaskian French in July, 1778, and their Indian friends would not have been so easily dealt with.

The Great Catastrophe

In 1784 came *"le gros hiver"* and the deep snow to make life more miserable for our gay subjects at Kaskaskia. In 1785 came the greatest overflow of the 18th century and the water rose to the floor of the old tavern. This caused more of the wealth and quality of Kaskaskia to desert the town for St. Genevieve and St. Louis in Missiouri. But now there were other troubles gathering around Kaskaskia. It is true it was the capital of the great County of Illinois of Virginia and the place of residence of Col. John Todd, the Lieutenant-Governor, but the American troops were badly paid and were boisterous and troublesome. They took what they needed and did so with a high hand and Monsieur B. Tardiveau was sent by the French inhabitants to the Continental Congress at New York to obtain redress and likewise to obtain some confirmation of the individual and communal grants which had been made by French authority to Kaskaskians. For Virginia had by that time made a grant of all that country to the Congress. There are rumors that Tardiveau had some opportunity to settle with the various members of Congress; that he had an anxious and weary time in obtaining Kaskaskian right. The history of the transaction shows that it is not alone in our time that rings and politcal jobbery has had its birth. It was not until 1788 that Congress confirmed a portion of the French titles. It was then stated that there were eighty families at Kaskaskia.

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[11] For a circumstantial account of the gaining of Kaskaskia see Thompson's, *Illinois' First Citizen—Pierre Gibault,* Illinois Catholic Historical Review, vol. 1, No. 1, July, 1918.

The Territorial Period

On July 13, 1787, the ordinance of the North West Territory was passed and Arthur St. Clair was made Governor. One of the provisions of that ordinance prohibited slavery in the new territory and many Kaskaskians moved with their slaves to St. Louis, which had been ceded to Spain in 1763. With the coming of the territory of the Northwest, Kaskaskia again ceased to be a capital and went back to be the county seat of the new county of St. Clair which was the third county organized in the territory of the Northwest. In March, 1790, it was visited for the first time by Governor St. Clair. Later, in 1795, it became the county seat of Randolph county.

In 1800 Illinois became a part of the Indiana Territory and in 1809 it became a territory of the second class, governed by a governor and judges appointed by the President. Ninian Edwards of Kentucky was the first territorial governor and Kaskaskia again came into prominence as the capital. The residence of Governor Edwards was not, however, in the old town, but at a country seat called Elvirade, near there. In 1812 Illinois became a territory of the first class with a governor, legislature and a delegate in Congress, and Kaskaskia was still the capital.

Up to 1800 Kaskaskia had not greatly changed in character of population or in the number of inhabitants. In that year Governor Reynolds says there were but seven or eight English families that had settled there. There were then only about 3,000 persons other than Indians in the whole Territory of Illinois, of whom the French and their slaves were the large majority. After that date the population began to increase rapidly and by 1810 numbered 12,282. Kaskaskia became a centre of much influence. The American Bottom, as the strip of alluvial ground extending from Kaskaskia to Cahokia was called, was recognized as a most fertile soil. Immigrants came to Kaskaskia and halted, while they looked around for a place to locate and make a permanent home. The French element looked on with dismay when they saw the machinery of government beginning to turn, for they reasoned that this would breed taxation. They thought that a people which installed judges, a sheriff, a jail, and lawyers must be looking for litigation; that a community which needed two doctors must expect to be an unhealthy one.

Besides, the individuals who came to the new places were of a totally different type. They were Protestants by inclination and looked on the French observance of the Sabbath with its strict church duties in the morning and its gayety of the afternoon and night as

an inheritance from the devil.[12] Also those who drank were not as temperate as the French. They were too, like all the English, unwilling to fraternize with the Indian. They killed him when he was bad; they robbed him when he was drunk. They took his lands away from him and were not particular as to the manner of doing so. They encouraged the Indian in his dissipations and soon the Indian tribes began to melt away and the fur-bearing and food-producing animals departed with the coming of the settler and his farm; and so many more of the gentler spirits among the French left the old home and their places were taken by a more vigorous yet ruder, by a more energetic, yet more common type of the pioneer or forerunner of civilization. The sprightly but somewhat refined dance[13] of the

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[12] As has been observed by Major Stoddart, who was lieutenant-governor of Upper Louisiana in 1804, "Perhaps the levities displayed, and the amusements pursued by the French people on Sundays, may be considered by some to border upon licentiousness. They attend Mass in the morning with great devotion; but after the exercises of church are over, they usually collect in parties and pass away their time in social and merry intercourse. They play at billiards and other games, and to balls and assemblies the Sundays are particularly devoted. To those educated in regular and pious Protestant habits such parties and amusements appear unseasonable, strange, and odious, if not prophetic of some signal curse on the workers of iniquity. It must, however, be confessed that the French people, on those days, avoid all intemperate and immoral excesses, and conduct themselves with apparent decorum. They are of opinion that there is true and undefiled religion in their amusements, much more, indeed, than they can see in certain night conferences and obscure meetings in various parts among the tombs.

"When questioned relative to their gayety on Sundays, they will answer, that men were made for happiness, and that the more they are able to enjoy themselves, the more acceptable they are to their Creator. They are of opinion that a sullen countenance, attention to gloomy subjects, a set form of speech, and a stiff behavior, are more indicative of hypocrisy than of religion; and they say they have often remarked that those who practice these singularities on Sunday will most assuredly cheat and defraud their neighbors during the remainder of the week.

"Such are the religious sentiments of a people of superstition; of a people prone to hospitality, urbanity of manners, and innocent recreation, and who present their daily orisons at the throne of Grace with as much confidence of success as the most devout Puritan in Christendom." Monette, *Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, pp. 187-88.

[13] "Nothing was better calculated to improve the simple and benevolent feelings of unsophisticated human nature, to maintain the blessings of peace and harmony, and the prevalence of brotherly love, than the forms of life and the domestic usages which prevailed in these early French villages. Under this benign influence, peace and competence smiled upon them; joy and mirth beamed from every countenance; contentment sat on every brow. The natural affluence which pervaded the whole village was common to all. The prolific soil, solicited

old French gave way to the tavern [14] revel, the jig and reel; the gay flash of the voyageur wit was displaced by the rude practical joke. The manners which imitated the air of the royal court were roughly cast aside for the boisterous ways of the trapper, the ranger, and the cow boy; and horse races, foot races, and wrestling were the amusement of the people.

The Decline of Kaskaskia

The years 1811 and 1812 were years of trouble and dismay in Old Kaskaskia. In the first of these years, the inhabitants were frightened beyond description by a terrible earthquake which was felt in different degrees of intensity by the whole Mississippi Valley. At Kaskaskia, the earth several times waved like a river agitated by the winds; the steeple of the church bent like a reed; the old bell rang with tremulous strokes like some unseen demon pulling on the bell cord; the cattle wild with a nameless fear, ran to and fro filling the air with howling; the soil cracked so deeply in the very streets that they could not sound the bottom of the crevice, and the water drawn from it exhaled a most disagreeable odor; stone and brick chimneys fell down; houses cracked as if it were doomsday. The people, believers and unbelievers, flocked to the church and listened with a Catholic zeal to the stout old Father Donatien Olivier as he implored mercy from Him whom the elements obey.

Those Kaskaskians who had presence of mind enough to watch the Indians saw that but few of those who had professed christianity had the faith of their former promises. The many camps around Kaskaskia were greatly disturbed and elaborate ceremonies were carried out to appease the visible wrath of Manito. Amidst the wailing and lamentations of the squaws and children the warriors cleansed their hands and faces and prepared for sacrifice to Manito.

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by gentle labor as a mere matter of recreation, yielded abundance of all the necessaries of life, except those which were derived from the still more prolific waters and the chase. With all these advantages, and all these easy enjoyments, in a climate of great benignity, remote from the strife and conflicting interests of a dense population, what should prevent them from esteeming Illinois a 'terrestial paradise,' as La Salle had termed it in 1682." Monette, *Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 185.

[14] "Taverns were unknown, and every house supplied the deficiency. The statute-book, the judiciary, and courts of law with their prisons and instruments of punishment, were unknown; as were also the crimes for which they are erected among the civilized nations of Europe." Monette, *History of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 191.

Deer freshly skinned were hung upon trees with their heads up to heaven. The calumet was smoked with sighing and groans. For three days the men did not speak to women or children and at night lay upon fresh skins with the hair next to the body. No food was taken during this time. All this to provoke dreams which to the Indian was the only mode of communication with Manito. At the end of the three days the council was held and those who had had unfavorable dreams appeared with half the face painted black. After the relation of all the dreams, and not until then, did they feast. If in the general opinion the auspices were favorable then the young men adorned themselves and spent hours laying on the colors with a hand glass, arranging their tresses. When one finally appeared in full paint and with hair and body anointed with bear's grease with two or three broad clasps of silver about each arm; with jewels in his ears; with a thin circular piece of silver about the size of a silver dollar depending from his nose resting on the upper lip; with painted porcupine quills in his hair; with tails of animals hanging down his back; with a necklace of bear's teeth or the claws of the bald eagle; with little perforated cylindrical pieces of silver or brass around his legs from the knee down, which tinkled as he proudly stepped; he would not laugh or jest, speak loudly or express surprise; he was colder, more moody and more stolid than ever, but he was ready for the dance and there was the proud triumph of irresistible charm in his eye.

In the year 1812 while England and America were preparing for war, came the great cyclone; and now Kaskaskia families took to the cellars while chimneys were humbled, log houses inverted, fences and strong posts carried away for miles, killing people and cattle, and wide swaths cut through the forests around.

Kaskaskia the Capital City

The first territorial legislature of the Territory of Illinois, met at Kaskaskia on Thursday, the 26th day of November, 1812. Dr. George Fisher of Kaskashia was elected Speaker of the House, and Mr. Thomas Swearengen doorkeeper. In view of certain recent controversies, it may be interesting to note that Mr. Swearengen was doorkeeper for both House and Council; that he was expected to carry all messages, both public and private; to provide wood and keep good fires in each room when the weather required it; to have each House swept clean every morning; to provide water for each House; to call any member by his proper name, and execute any other reasonable

demands which a majority of either House might require. The Senate at this time was composed of five members and the House of seven. It is said that they boarded at the same public house and lodged in the same room. This, however, is not surprising when we understand that the entire amount of money collected for the territorial expenses from Nov. 1, 1811, to Nov. 8, 1814, was $2,516.89.

And now again there was a change, and between the years 1812 and 1818 it became pronounced. Men like Ninian Edwards, John McLean of Shawneetown; John Rice Jones, the Welsh lawyer from London, and his talented brood of boys; Nathaniel Pope, the secretary of Governor Edwards, the polished and educated gentleman; D. P. Cook, the editor of the Intelligencer; John Reynolds, chastened by his Tennessee education; Elias Kent Kane, the Yale graduate; Edward Coles of Virgina, private secretary to two presidents; the learned Sidney Breese, General Edgar J. Semple, Judges Lockwood and Wilson, Forquer, the Dodges, began to assert their places and exercise that influence which tells greatly in the formative period of a State; and to these were joined a great number of merchants who were men of rare common sense and ability, like the Mathers, the Lambs, the Morrisons, the Menards, the Judys. I wish I could go more deeply into this phase of Illinois history as it was fixed at Kaskaskia in order to give their proper meed of credit to these men, but time forbids.

Illinois a State

The first State Legislatures, and the convention which framed the first constitution were held at Kaskaskia, and the town was then at the height of its glory. It is said that the admission of the State to the Union was delayed until the Constitution was so amended that Menard [15] might hold office. Finally, on Dec. 3, 1818, Illinois was

[15] Pierre Menard was one of the most distinguished men of his time. The Constitution proper contained a provision to the effect that none was qualified for Governor or Lieutenant except one who had been a citizen for thirty years. To qualify Menard a clause was inserted in the schedule providing that "Any person of thirty years of age, who is a citizen of the United States and has resided within the limits of this state two years next preceding his election, shall be eligible to the office of Lieutenant-Governor; anything in the thirteenth section of the third article of this Constitution contained to the contrary, notwithstanding." Citizen Thorpe, Constitutions, 2; 985, and commenting on the provision Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, says: "This section must have been incorporated just at the close of the convention as there is no record of it in the only available copy of the 'journal.' He (Menard) had not been naturalized until a year or so before." Ford, *History of Illinois*, p. 26

admitted to the Union and Kaskaskia was a State capital. And now again fate was unkind to Kaskaskia, for but a short time was she permitted to hold that honor. Vandalia was selected and built as a State capital, and Kaskaskia begins her last and fatal decline. St. Louis began to absorb the growing trade with the great West. The polticians desert her for Vandalia; her merchants move to more inviting fields of effort.

In April, 1825, General Lafayette, who had been touring the country, was persuaded by Governor Coles to stop at Kaskaskia on his trip from St. Louis to Nashville, Tenn. The visit was unheralded, but the townspeople trooped to the boat, and carried Lafayette in an informal procession to the residence of his old friend, Gen. John Edgar. Here he held an improptu reception, which was followed by a banquet at Col. Sweet's, and a grand ball in the evening at Col. Morrison's: Levasseur, in his charming account of the trip was not as much impressed by the history and characteristics of the place as we would wish, but spent the greater part of the day in studying the Indian tribes, which were encamped around the town, and discovered an Indian woman, the wife of one Skiakape, whose father had been a chief in New York State at the time Lafayette was in command in northern New York at the close of the Revolution. This woman had been raised and educated by Col. Menard, but when she became of age had run back to the woods and married an Indian Chief.

Kaskaskia was now visibly on the decline. It was only sustained by the facilities it offered to trade in the river highways, but here it was greatly handicapped by larger places on the north and south. In 1833 a colony of nine nuns from the Convent of Visitation at Georgetown, D. C., started an academy for girls at Kaskaskia and it bade fair to become a school of importance. This academy was after the flood of 1844 removed to St. Louis where it became of great importance.[16]

Kaskaskia Flood-Swept

In 1844 came the greatest flood of all and Kaskaskia was almost destroyed. Water stood five feet deep in the old hotel building where the high water of 1785 had only reached the floor. The bottom was covered many feet deep. Steamboats sailed from bluff to bluff. Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis, chartered a steamboat and went to Kaskaskia, where the young ladies of the convent were drawn

[16] For complete account of this academy see *The First Convent in Illinois*, Illinois Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 1, No. 3, January, 1919.

through the second story windows to the boat.[17] *On April 20, 1881,* the neck of land separating the Kaskaskia and Mississippi rivers was washed away. Three days after the cut off was made steamboats passed through the new channel. Since that time the State of Illinois has moved the bodies in the old grave yard to Chester and the site of the old town has steadily crumbled away.

The story of Kaskaskia is but the story of the germ. It is, is planted, produces the seedling, the stalk. It does not die it but gives up its being to the plant. Older than St. Louis or New Orleans, this mission post, voyageur's rest, garrison town, capital of all the empire between the Alleghenys and Rockies, this district capital, territorial capital, State capital, lives only in history as a place to hang a story on, as a dream for the poet. The river has changed its course; the town has disappeared beneath the waves; the Indians have been destroyed; voyaging and hunting for a living are no longer occupations; the bark canoe has been displaced by the steamboat, which now in its turn gives way to the railroad. Yet, Kaskaskia and her interesting types and people were influences, causes of great events, and the dream is a pleasant one."

STUART BROWN.

In Transactions Illinois State Historical Society.

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[17] There was an entry in Bishop William Quarter's diary of May 25, 1844, as follows: "Found the nuns at Colonel Menard's, being obliged to quit their convent, the water being as high as the second story. The inhabitants of the village were crowded along the bluff to witness much destruction of property and animals by water. Chartered the boat 'Indiana' and took the nuns and young ladies (boarders) to St. Louis." As a matter of fact both Bishops, Quarter and Kenrick, were there, as were also Father John Timon and Reverend Jacques Maurice de St. Palais, who afterwards became Bishops of Buffalo and Vincennes, respectively. See *The First Convent in Illinois,* ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, January, 1919, p. 369.

[18] See Burnham, *Destruction of Kaskaskia by the Mississippi River* in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* 1914.

A CHAPTER IN ILLINOIS' FINANCES

The material side in the progress of a nation, state or community, even if not so attractive as some other features, claims attention. A consideration of means and resources frequently thrusts itself upon notice. The financial side of the history of early Illinois was, like many another new venture, somewhat checkered.

It might be of some interest to inquire into the expenses of the French Government or of the Company of the West, and even to read again the story of the Mississippi Bubble; or to run over the financial reports and budgets of the early missionary establishments when the rather meagre allowances were forwarded by the Home Missions in Canada to the workers in the field, or to know the rather extended accounts of officers and agents during the British regime, but the reader will be more interested in examining the manner and extent of the financing of the territory after it was headed in the direction of the United States.

It will be remembered that to carry out the Clark project of the Conquest of the Northwest, by means of which he was to take the British forts in the territory northwest of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi, the Virginia Assembly voted the munificent sum of twelve hundred pounds—about $6,000. It will be also remembered that this bounty when translated into Virginia scrip or Continental currency was ultimately worthless. It did service in buying some supplies, but fell dead in the hands of the holders. Yet, nevertheless, Clark expended, in connection with his conquest, a sum in excess of $100,000.00.[1]

How these expenses were met and the distress occasioned by them, is an interesting if uniformly sad story, which may be prefaced by saying that the burden fell chiefly, and in the order in which they are mentioned, most heavily upon Oliver Pollock, then of New Orleans; Francis Vigo of St. Louis, Kaskaskia and Vincennes; Father Pierre Gibault, Vicar-General of the Illinois country; ten or a dozen prominent Frenchmen in Illinois and the French inhabitants of Illinois.

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[1] For Clark's account against Virginia see English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio and Life of General George Rogers Clark*, Vol. II, p. 1040 *et seq.* This account, as will be seen, aggregates $2,201,392.83 1-3. This statement is copied from report of Committee 30 Congress, Report H. R. No. 216.

Oliver Pollock

Even before the conquest of the Northwest by Clark was sanctioned by the Council of Virginia, Oliver Pollock had been selected as an agent both of the Colony of Virginia and of the Continental Congress of the United States. Oliver Pollock was the son of Jared Pollock, who emigrated in 1760 from near Coleraine, Ireland, to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, accompanied by his sons—James, Oliver and John. Oliver was born in 1737 and removed to Havana, Cuba, in 1762 or 1763 and engaged in mercantile pursuits there. He mastered the Spanish language, married a lady of Havana and became identified with the Catholic Church. Through the influence of Father Butler, President of the Jesuit College, he won the friendship of Count Alexander O'Reilly, Governor-General of Cuba, and attained a high reputation as a financier and business man of ability.[2]

On the 12th of June, 1777, the secret committee of the Revolution, composed of Franklin, Morris and Lee, appointed Pollock Commercial Agent of the United States at New Orleans, directing him to ship at once to Philadelphia $50,000.00 worth of goods, blankets, etc., for the army. Later in the same year, the Governor of Virginia also appointed him special agent for that colony. He held these positions until 1783, having during these years advanced to the United States and Virginia, on the basis of his own credit, over $300,000.00 in specie.[3]

When the Clark Conquest was sanctioned by the Council of Virginia, the burden of financing the project fell upon Pollock, and the first move toward the Clark invasion, namely the securing of powder, was the occasion of the first help given by Pollock to the conquest, when he secured "out of the King's store in New Orleans for Virginia" the powder which Captain Linn brought from New Orleans.[4]

During the month of January, 1778, Governor Henry ordered Pollock to draw bills on France for $65,000.00 to aid Clark, which Pollock did on his individual bond, and during the same year he borrowed on his special security from the Spanish Royal Treasury at New Orleans $70,000.00 in specie, which was also expended for the furtherance of Clark's campaign and the advance of Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiers.[5]

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[2] See *Oliver Pollock, His Connection with the Conquest of Illinois in 1778*, by Horace Edwin Hayden in *Magazine of American History*, Vol. 22, pp. 414-420.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] See notes on Linn, English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, 2, 143.

[5] Hayden *supra.*

Complications growing out of the flood of bills drawn by Clark and his commissaries for the expenses of the conquest, resulted in the arrest of Pollock and his imprisonment for debt incurred in cashing Clark's drafts. To discharge such debts, he was forced to dispose of his large estate at much below its value, and was kept financially harassed and embarassed for a decade. Such was his ability, however, that by honest efforts he retrieved his losses and again became a wealthy and influential citizen.[6]

In 1792 Pollock returned to Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, and bought a large estate near Carlisle. He was a man of the highest reputation and greatly honored in his community. He was an active member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in Philadelphia and a charter member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. In his old age he made his home with his daughter and son-in-law, Samuel Robinson, at Pinckneyville, Mississippi, where he died December 17, 1823.[7]

Such a man was Oliver Pollock, and such was his contribution to the conquest of the Northwest. It is apparent that, without his aid, the venture would certainly have failed,[8] and it is no answer to say that some one else might have been found to do what he did. The same thing might be said of Washington, Lincoln, Grant and Wilson. Despite the indispensable aid given America by Oliver Pollock, I have seen no page in the history of Illinois and I have heard no voice from Illinois honoring Oliver Pollock.

Francis Vigo

Next after Oliver Pollock entitled to high honors for furnishing supplies and funds to make the conquest of the Northwest possible came Pierre Gibault and Francis Vigo, and it is a difficult question to determine which of these two is entitled to the greater credit. Vigo furnished more money than Father Gibault, but he had more to furnish, and he was no doubt greatly influenced in his actions by Father Gibault.

Francis Vigo was an Italian by birth, but in his migrations about the world he became attached to the Spanish and served in the Spanish Army. At the time of the Clark conquest he was in civil

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[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Clark so acknowledged. See his certificate of July 2, 1785. *Copy in Calendar of Pollock Letters and Papers*, Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives. CXV. Miscellaneous Letters, January-April, 1791.

life, engaged in mercantile business with the Spanish Commandant at St. Louis, Don Francisco De Leyba.

Though probably without the advantages of a great deal of education, Vigo was well informed, and, in his trading activities, traveled extensively, making frequent trips to Vincennes, Detroit and the settlements of Illinois and Indiana. He was on one of his regular journeys at the stirring time of George Rogers Clark's Conquest, and visited Vincennes after the British Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton had retaken possession of that settlement. Knowing Vigo was from one of the French settlements in Illinois, Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton suspected him of being in sympathy with the Americans and imprisoned him, but Father Gibault, being present in Vincennes at the time, after the Sunday Mass led a demonstration of protest to Governor Hamilton, and the inhabitants informed the British Governor, through Father Gibault, that, unless he at once released Vigo, they would furnish no more supplies for his garrison. Hamilton grudgingly yielded to the demands thus made and set Vigo free, after seeking to impose conditions upon him as claimed by some writers.[9]

Once free, Vigo hastened to Clark with the information that Vincennes had been recaptured. Clark's own language with reference to the information given him by Vigo is:

> In the heighth of the hurry, a Spanish merchant who had been at St. Vincennes arrived and gave the following intelligence that Mr. Hamilton had weakened himself by sending his Indians against the frontiers and to block up the Ohio. That he had not more than eighty men in garrison, three pieces of cannon and some swivel mounted and that he intended to attack this place as soon as winter opened, and made no doubt of clearing the western waters by fall.[10]

And in his *Memoir*, Clark said:

> On the 20th of January, 1779, Mr. Vigo, then a Spanish merchant who had been at St. Vincennes, arrived and gave information that Governor Hamilton with thirty regulars and fifty French volunteers, Indians, agents, interpreters, boatmen, etc., that amounted to a considerable number, and about four hundred Indians had in December last taken that post, and as the season was so far

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[9] For the most authoritative statement of Vigo's Activities and sacrifices see Law, *A History of Vincennes;* and English, *Conquest of the Northwest,* pp. 260, 262, 267, 275, 276, 277, 396, 436, 568. For an appreciation see my *Penalties of Patriotism.* See also Clark to Patrick Henry, April 29, 1779. See *George Rogers Clark Papers. Illinois Historical Collection,* Vol. 8, p. 170.

advanced, it was thought impossible to reach the Illinois, he sent some of the Indians to Kentucky and to watch the Ohio, disbanding others, etc.[11]

Clark's account in his letter to Mason is more specific. He says:

In the heighth of our anxiety on the evening of the 29th of January, 1779, Mr. Vigo, a Spanish merchant, arrived from St. Vincennes and was there the time of its being taken and gave me every intelligence that I could wish to have. Governor Hamilton's party consisted of about eight hundred when he took possession of that post on the 17th of December past.[12]

This was the beginning of Vigo's aid to the American cause. Being a merchant of high standing and well connected with the Spanish, he established friendly relations between Clark and the Spanish Commandant and immediately began to furnish funds for the new government. He sold supplies in large quantities to the army and received in payment Virginia scrip or continental money as it was called, which became worthless. He accepted bills drawn upon the Agent at New Orleans, Oliver Pollock, some of which were honored, but $12,000.00 of which, through the total lack of funds and the exhaustion of Pollock's estate, were dishonored.

For the purchase of supplies, Vigo bound himself by guarantees for large sums of money and was later sued by the holders of such guarantees and impoverished. After the war was over, he sought reimbursement of the funds advanced to the Government, and wore out his life in actions and appeals made necessary by the procrastination and postponement of consideration. The last years of his life were spent in actual poverty, and even his funeral expenses remained unpaid for forty years after his death. Forty years after he had been in his grave, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down an opinion adjudging a debt of the United States to Francis Vigo[13] for moneys advanced by him for the George Rogers Clark Conquest amounting with interest to more than $40,000.00, but none of the name or blood of Vigo ever profited by the judgment.[14]

After the Revolutionary War, Vigo lived in Vincennes and was for many years a highly honored citizen. He was for twenty years one of the trustees of the old St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church of Vincennes, and served the United States Government in many confidential capacities, but his declining years were made most miserable

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[11] *Ibid.*, 266.

[12] *Ibid.*, 138.

[13] See Vigo v. U. S. 91 U. S. 442.

[14] English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, Vol. I, p. 267 et seq.

by poverty and ruin into which he was driven on account of the aid he rendered the Government in the Conquest of the Northwest.[15]

Very Rev. Pierre Gibault

As to the part played by Father Gibault with respect to the finances of the new government, it may truthfully be said that his work could not be measured in dollars and cents. He had championed the new government, recommended it to all of his people and affectionately received their allegiance for it. He believed in it, and therefore, when the government was in financial straits, he did everything in his power to sustain it. He not only received the worthless continental currency at its face value, returning for it specie, but also by word and deed did everything in his power to have all his people act similarly. Out of his meagre resources he provided a sum of 7,500 livres for which he held only Virginia scrip and from which he never received a farthing. In order to provide this fund, he was obliged to sell his personal belongings, to sacrifice his servant, to assign his tithes and to live in poverty.[16]

While, therefore, Father Gibault's contribution to the support of the American cause at this critical juncture was not so great in dollars and cents as that of some others, yet, nevertheless, it was his all, and the spirit which actuated him and the influence he exercised would seem to entitle him to the fullest measure of credit and honor.

It will be remembered that the espousal of the American cause not only cost Father Gibault all his little worldly possessions, but his ecclesiastical standing as well. The Canadian bishops who remained in control of the Church in the Illinois country until after the close of the Revolutionary War were partisans of the British and strongly disapproved Father Gibault's attitude toward and assistance to the Americans, "so much so," in the words of the bishop in a letter written to Prefect Apostolic Carroll, "that I propose to give him no employment for the future."[17] And strange as it may seem, this disapproval of the Canadian Bishops, coupled with the slanders of British officers, chagrined and angry at his success in bringing the inhabitants over to the American cause, and the falsehoods and

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[15] See *Penalties of Patriotism.*

[16] See Law, *History of Vincennes;* English, *Conquest of the Northwest; Thompson, Illinois' First Citizen, Pierre Gibault,* in Illinois Catholic Historical Review. See also *Penalties of Patriotism.*

[17] Briand to Carroll, original text and translation published in *Illinois Historical Collections,* Vol. V., pp. 586 to 590.

misrepresentations of other irresponsible and dissolute characters, so influenced Bishop Carroll that he denied Father Gibault his confidence and thus left him adrift. In the circumstances he found welcome in the Spanish possessions across the Mississippi, only, a virtual exile from his chosen and cherished land.

Regarding the ingratitude shown Father Gibault through all the years since his exile and death, Mr. J. P. Dunn, the talented historian, said:

> In truth, our French friends fared hardly under the American rule and none so badly as Father Gibault who did not get any return in land as a militiaman or the head of a family and lost his ecclesiastical support on account of the change of jurisdiction. He never received a particle of compensation from Virginia or the United States for his services and he never received one cent of repayment for money and goods actually furnished to our troops. The situation seems almost incredible, but it was a horrible reality.[18]

Mr. English, in his valuable work, *The Conquest of the Northwest*, says:[19]

> There was no reason, however, why his great services should not have been properly recognized, but they never were. As far as the author is advised, no county, town or post office bears his name; no monument has been erected to his memory, and no headstone marks his grave, as its location is entirely unknown. It is well for him that he could turn to the religion of which he had been so faithful a servant and find consolation in the trust that there was a heaven where meritorious deeds, such as his, find reward since they were so poorly appreciated and requited on earth.

Needless to say that what was thus written several years ago remains true to this day. Not only have Vigo and Gibault remained unhonored but their very names have all but faded from the memory of men.

Catholic Frenchmen

In a letter written by George Rogers Clark, July 24, 1778,[20] he said: "Several merchants are now advancing considerable sums of their own property rather than the service should suffer, by which I am sensible they must lose greatly, unless some method is taken to raise the credit of our coin."

Doctor Alvord concludes from an examination of documents that

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[18] Paper read before Illinois State Historical Society, published in Transaction Illinois State Hist. Soc., 1905.

[19] *Conquest of the Northwest*, pp. 189-90.

[20] Published in *American Historical Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 501.

the merchants who gave their aid were: Daniel Murray, Winston Cerré, Janis, the Charlevilles, the Beauvais, Duplasy, the Bienveneaus of Kaskaskia, Barbau of Prairie du Rocher, Godin, Trottier, Girault, La Croix, Gratiot, and McCarty of Cohokia, La Gras, Huberdean, and Bosseron of Vincennes, and Vigo with possibly others of St. Louis.[21]

In a note Alvord says: "In fact the list of those who at this time or later furnished supplies on credit is a very long one, including almost every man of property in Illinois. Gratiot of Cohokia, Cerré of Kaskaskia, and Vigo of St. Louis have always received due credit [English, Law, and other historians differ with Mr. Alvord as to that] for the assistance they furnished, but they were more active than the other members of the French villages. In the end these three never suffered from their efforts [but see Law and English on Vigo's suffering] at this period as did others. Richard Winston who at the time of Clark was regarded as wealthy, died in poverty: and the Bauvais family was reduced to almost the same extremity. These are only two instances among many."[22]

When glorifying the military achievements of our state or praising its financial impregnability a thought of gratitude for its earliest sponsors who sacrificed so much for it would be most appropriate.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

[21] *Alvord, Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. II, p. LI.
[22] Note 3. Ib.

TRANSCRIPTS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES AT THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY, CHICAGO

Archives are "documents or records relating to the rights, privileges, claims, treaties, constitutions, etc., of a family, corporation, community or nation". (Century Dictionary, *s. v.*) Archives are thus the original material of history, of priceless value alike to the governments and to the historians of nations. Their importance to governments is evinced in a striking manner by the former practice of belligerent countries. In the frequent wars between European nations in past centuries sometimes "cartloads" of archives were seized in the capitals of conquered nations by the conquerors and were transferred to their own capitals, to be reclaimed and sometimes restored later when the balance of power between contending parties had turned.

The Spanish archives at Seville contain a host of documents, letters and reports sent to the home government by Spanish governors and other civil or military agents of Spain in parts of America formerly under Spanish dominion. These archives have been consulted and extracts have been made and printed to some extent by historians of Spanish America; but an immense mass of documents still awaits examination and exploitation.

The Edward E. Ayer Library of works relating to the Indians and to the early history and description of North America, now a part of the Newberry Library, Chicago, has for the past five years been receiving transcripts of such documents at Seville as relate to New Meixco and the early Southwest, Louisiana, Mexico, Florida and the Pacific Coast. These transcripts are available for consultation during the day at the Newberry Library and form a priceless mine of information for the historical student competent to use them. Taken in connection with the more than thirty-eight thousand volumes, maps, manuscripts, photographs, and other items contained in the Ayer Library all bearing upon its chosen field of Americana, these Spanish transcripts afford unrivaled facilities for the original study of early Spanish, and thus largely Catholic, history of those parts of the United States formerly under Spanish rule.

The Annual Reports of the Librarian of the Newberry Library for the past five years make brief mention of the successive acquisitions in this special field; but they indicate to some extent the scope of the transcripts thus far received. The following passages are accordingly extracted from the reports from 1914 to 1918 and are reprinted here.

W. S. M.

Among the manuscripts acquired [by the Library in 1914] were 7,085 folio pages (of which only 533 pages have hitherto been printed) of transcripts from manuscripts in the archives of the Indies at Seville, Spain, relating to the early exploration, conquest, and settlement of New Mexico. These transcripts include a particularly full account of the expedition and explorations of Juan de Onate, and an apparently unknown chronicle, 436 pages in extent, by Baltasar Obregon, entitled *Cronica, comentarios ô relaciones de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernes de Nueva Espana y del Nuevo Mexico, Mexico, 1584;* narratives of expeditions into Texas by Alonso de Leôn, and Domingo Terán de los Rios, 1690-91, the result of La Salle's unfortunate landing in Matagorda Bay; and about one thousand pages descriptive of the encroachments of the English, that is, of the colony of Georgia on territory claimed by Florida, 1733-38.[1]

The manuscript additions [acquired in 1915] included further transcripts from the Archives of the Indies in Seville, Spain, among them being: (1) Early Florida documents concerning Esteban de las Atlas, 1571; (2) Documents relating to the expulsion of the Spaniards from New Mexico in 1680; (3) an *Expediente* on the establishment of the English in Georgia, 1736-1742; (4) Reports from Cuba and Louisiana, 1776-1777, in which the progress of the American Revolution is commented upon. There were also acquired eleven volumes, numbering 1,608 pages, of blueprints made from typewritten copies of documents in the Cuban Archives. These relate mostly to Florida and Louisiana and, among other important paper, comprise three letter books of Bernardo de Galvez.[2]

The transcribing of original documents relating to America in the Archives at Seville which has been carried on for the Ayer Collection during the past three years was continued [during 1916]. This body of transcripts now comprises over twenty-three thousand pages, folio and quarto. They deal with affairs in California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and, to a less extent, the West Indies and Philippine Islands. They also describe the relations of the former Spanish colonies with the neighboring English and French colonies, particularly with the beginnings of those among the latter colonies which were considered to be infringing upon Spanish territory. Further, they contain valuable data concerning the American Revolution, as the Spanish governors of Louisiana and Cuba and the Spanish envoys at Philadelphia kept the home government very fully informed upon American affairs. With respect to the transcripts of documents relating to the exploration, conquest, and settlement of New Mexico, Professor Bolton of the

[1] Report 1914, p. 17.

[2] Report 1915, p. 15-16.

University of California, a leading authority on Spanish-American history, is reported to have said that the new facts which they reveal will necessitate the entire rewriting of the history of the Southwest. The transcripts relating to the history of Florida are also of the first importance as historical material. It has been said that there is perhaps no portion of the United States of whose early history so little is known as that of Florida.[3]

The Edward E. Ayer Collection added during the year 1917 10,703 pages to its collection of transcripts from the *Archivo general de Indias* at Seville. These include some very notable and interesting, as well as unexpected, documents. Among the latter may be mentioned *Copie du journal de voyage du Sieur Cauelier, pretre frère de Monsr. de la Salle, lesquels entreprirent tous les deux par mer la découverte du fleuve Missisipi lan 1684 avec plusieur nauires. Ce journal fust presanté a Monsr. de Segneley par ledit Cavelier au retour de son penible voyage.* This journal begins in July, 1684, and ends August 22, 1688. It is the final report of the Abbé Cavelier and is not identical with the fragment of the first draft, July, 1684-February 16, 1687, which was printed by John Gilmary Shea in 1858. Another important set of documents is from the papers of José de Galvez, minister for the Indies. They consist of official letters, with numerous inclosures, from the governors of Louisiana and Cuba, the commandant-general of the *Provincias internas*, and the Spanish envoys at Philadelphia, Juan de Miralles, 1777-80, and Francisco Rendon, 1780-84. With the reports of Miralles and Rendon were sent many translations, and sometimes printed documents and papers. These latter included some numbers of the little French paper, *Courrier de l' Amérique*, printed at Philadelphia by Boinod & Gaillard in 1784. We have typewritten copies of the following numbers: July 27 and 30; August 3, 6, 10, 13, 17, 20, 24, and 27; September 28; October 1, 5, 8, 12, 15, 19, and 22.[4]

To the Edward E. Ayer Collection there were added 9,025 pages of transcripts of documents relating to American affairs in the Spanish official archives at Seville and Simancas. Among those from Simancas are twenty-five short reports on the English colony of Virginia. Those from Seville include important documents concerning Diego de Ibarra, Francisco de Urdiñola, the northern provinces of Mexico, and many reports and letters from the various viceroys of Mexico. The most important book added was François Joseph le Mercier's *Relation de ce qui s'est passé . . . en la Nouvelle France aux années mil six cent soixante cinq, and mil six cent soixante six.* Paris, S. Cramoisy, 1667, an original Jesuit Relation. Of the original series of these famous relations in the Ayer Collection now lacks only two, viz., those published in 1656 and in 1660.[5]

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL.

Chicago.

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[3] Report 1916, p. 20.
[4] Report 1917, p. 16.
[5] Report 1918, p. 13.

ILLINOIS' FIRST CITIZEN — PIERRE GIBAULT

I. The Patriot. II. The Priest.
III. The Victim of Injustice and Ingratitude.

II. GIBAULT THE PRIEST
(Fifth Paper)

Studies of Father Gibault

As heretofore stated, the study of Father Gibault by Pauline Lancaster Peyton,[1] is undoubtedly the most comprehensive and satisfactory that has been made, but there is so much of value in what Father J. J. Conway, S. J.,[2] and the Herbermanns[3] have said that the reader should have at least their conclusions as to Gibault's merits.

Father Conway was writing as a Missourian and naturally stressed his work in that State. In part he says:

Result of Father Conway's Study

A study of the rise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in St. Louis would remain very incomplete without some appreciation of the life and character of one who did so gigantic a work for the Church in the West. He added an empire to our State; and yet he is a man to whom, notwithstanding his eminent merits, the Church, the country, even history, have done, in return, little or the barest justice. "To him next to Clarke and Vigo," says Judge John Law in his *History of Vincennes,* "the United States are more indebted for the accession of the States comprised in what was the original Northwestern Territory than to any other man." And yet, "as far as we are advised, no county," to quote Mr. English in his *Conquest of the Northwest,* "no town, no post-office, not even an alleyway in St.

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[1] Records American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Vol. XII, No. 4, p. 452 *et seq.*

[2] The Beginnings of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the Archdiocese of St. Louis, Publication No. 14, 1897, of the Missouri Historical Society, p. 21 *et seq.*

[3] Very Reverend Pierre Gibault, V. G., Historical Records and Studies, United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, Vol. VII, Part II, pp. 131-133 and 148-9.

Louis, Vincennes or Indianapolis, no monument has been erected to his memory," not even a headstone marks his grave, so completely has he passed out of the thoughts of men. "It was well for him," writes Mr. English, "that he could turn to the religion of which he had been so faithful a servant and find consolation in the trust that there was a heaven, where meritorious deeds such as his find reward, since they were so poorly appreciated and requited on earth."[4]

Pierre Gibault, son of Pierre Gibault and Marie St. Jean, was born at Montreal, April 7, 1737. I am not sure where his elementary studies were pursued. Possibly in his own district school in Montreal, inasmuch as at that time no discrimination on the part of the Church existed between the state and parish schools. His classics were acquired at the Seminary of Quebec, from whose literary courses he graduated about the age of twenty-four. Like most young Canadians of that time, Gibault left school for the woods and the prairies of the West. He spent some years—probably three or four—we are told, in this western world; but where, exactly, I am not clear enough to say. He had a married sister at Kaskaskia and a brother in the English garrison at Vincennes at the time that these posts were captured by Colonel Clarke in 1778. But whether they were at these places fourteen or fifteen years previously, and whether he stayed out here with them I could not say. I have in fact seen no sure grounds for stating what his object was in coming West after his studies. It is certain, however, that he returned to Quebec in 1764 or 1765, and that he was ordained in that city, by Mgr. Briand, on March 19, 1768. He remained at the cathedral until the end of spring, and then left for the Illinois Missions. He followed the Ottawa trail, going around by Michilimacinac, where he spent a week hearing confessions, baptizing, revalidating marriages, and attending to a hundred cares[5] which had been neglected ever since the last pastor of the place, Father Lefranc, had been driven from the mission by the English, in 1761. For in Article 33, of the Articles of Capitulation agreed upon between England and France at Montreal in 1762, the English authorities peremptorily refused to permit the Jesuits to maintain their Indian missions. Father Gibault left Mackinac at the opening of summer and descending by the Marquette-Allouez route—Green Bay, the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers—to the Mississippi, he reached Kaskaskia by water in September, 1768. For

[4] *Conquest of the Northwest*, pp. 189-90.

[5] *Gibault to Bishop Briand*, July 28, 1768.

his bold and characteristic signature appears upon its registers under date of September 8, 1768, as Parish Priest of Kaskaskia.[6]

Father Gibault, Parish Priest of Kaskaskia

Kaskaskia was then at its zenith, or, to employ the extravagant comparison of Governor John Reynolds in his *Pioneer History of Illinois*, "Kaskaskia was then to Illinois what Paris is at this day to France—the great emporium of fashion, gayety and happiness."[7] It contained between fifteen hundred and two thousand inhabitants, all, if not indeed all, Catholics, although a very sorry sort of Catholics. The women—there as almost everywhere—better, of course, than the men, were not so sadly lacking in their duties to God and their Church. But the men—all Frenchmen—proverbially therefore angels or devils—were not, I am afraid, angels, at least all of them. For Pierre Gibault, no more than Abraham in the City of the Plain, could not find ten just men in Kaskaskia. At all events, he could not find ten who had been to their religious duties for the last four or five years, which, certainly, was a very poor index of their godliness.

But Father Gibault did not shrink from the task of reforming Kaskaskia. This we easily gather from the toilsome ordeal of his apostolate. Writing to Mgr. Briand from Vincennes in 1786, whither he had removed as pastor in 1785, he says: "I give the boys and girls an instruction twice a day: after mass, and in the evening before sunset. After each instruction, I send the girls home and make the boys repeat the responses of the mass and the ceremonies of the Church for Sundays and holydays. I preach, too, on these days as often as I can."[8] This was the same plan and method which he had pursued at Kaskaskia; only that at Kaskaskia, he gave special catechetical instructions to the congregation four times a week, over and above preaching as often as he could on Sundays and holydays. Now to preach a decent sermon but twice on every Sunday and holyday upon the Canadian Calendar of that time, was a matter that called for considerable brains, great zeal, and a fund of personal piety and self-sacrifice. And if, moreover, we will reflect that this priest was forever afoot in a hundred directions, it called for industry, much meditation, and a miserly husbanding of time, to preach the sermons

[6] Parish Records Immaculate Conception in St. Louis University.

[7] *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 50.

[8] This letter is published in full in the original text and an English translation in Vol. V, *Illinois Historical Collections*, pp. 534 to 547.

that Father Gibault did preach and as often as his Calendar required him to preach them. For, besides the fifty-two Sundays of the year, the holydays of obligation in Canada were very numerous. By an official act of Bishop Laval, the first Bishop of Quebec, in 1694, the same holydays were made obligatory in all the French settlements in Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, Louisiana and the country west of the Mississippi, until that territory, passing under Spanish domination, was, about 1776, reclaimed as part originally of the diocese of Santiago de Cuba, in virtue of De Soto's exploration of the Mississippi. These holydays were those of the reformed Calendar of Urban VIII., and included The Feast of the Circumcision, January 1st; The Epiphany, January 12th; Candlemas Day, February 2d; The Feasts of St. Mathias, February 24th; of St. Joseph, March 19th; of the Annunciation, March 25th; of St. Michael, May 8th; of St. John the Baptist, June 24th; of St. Bartholomew, August 24th; of St. Louis, August 26th; of The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, September 8th; of St. Mathew, September 24th; of SS. Simon and Jude, October 28th; of All Saints, November 1st; of St. Andrew, November 30th; of St. Francis Xavier, December 3d; of the Immaculate Conception, December 8th; of St. Thomas, December 21st; of St. Stephen, December 26th; of St. John the Evangelist, December 28th; besides, Christmas Day, Easter Monday and Tuesday, Ascension Day, Whitsun Monday and Tuesday, Corpus Christi, The Titular Saint of the Cathedral of Quebec and the Patronal Feast of the Parish of Kaskaskia. But Father Gibault was equal to the ceaseless task, and that he did his work well, the result amply declares. For by Easter, 1769, he brought nearly all the Kaskaskians to their duties —the French folks of the town, the Indians camped up the river, and all the Catholics of the 18th Royal Irish Dragoons in barracks at Kaskaskia.

Father Gibault's Missionary Travels

But Father Gibault's zeal was not confined to Kaskaskia. Between September, 1768, and February, 1770, he had crossed the river to Ste. Genevieve, visited La Salines, Old Mines, and on the east side Fort Chartres, St. Philip, Prairie du Rocher, the Indian camps and Creole farmers scattered up and down the Mississippi as far as Prairie du Rocher. In the winter of 1770 he inaugurated that long series of missionary excursions which have made him famuos as the Stout Priest of the West. Early in February, 1770, he traveled to

Vincennes. That post had not seen a priest since their pastor, Father Duvernay, was carried to New Orleans in 1763.[9] This will explain the reception which they gave to Pierre Gibault. "On my arrival," he writes to Mgr. Briand, June 15, 1770, "all crowded down to the banks of the Wabash to receive me. Some fell on their knees, unable to speak; others could speak only in sobs. Some cried out to me, 'Father, save us, we are almost in hell;' others kept repeating, 'God has not abandoned us, for he has sent you to us to make us do penance for our sins;' others in tears kept asking me: 'Oh, sir, why did you not come sooner, my poor wife, or my dear father, or my dear mother, or my poor child would not have died without the sacraments.' "[10] Father Gibault remained two weeks at Vincennes. On his return to Kaskaskia, he visited the newly arrived Spanish Commandant at Ste. Genevieve, and Lieutenant-Governor de Piernas, in St. Louis. The Spaniards came to these posts unattended by clergymen. Father Gibault continued, therefore, to visit Ste. Genevieve and promised de Piernas to include St. Louis in his missions. In 1775, he made a second visit to Vincennes. He was then on his way to Canada; and on his route tarried among the Indian camps on the Wabash, the Peoria and St. Joseph Rivers. On his return from Canada, he was unable to get around by Mackinac, where he was therefore detained from November to December 3, 1775. He retraced his steps to Detroit, helping in that city until late spring enabled him to resume the trail to the West. On February 23, 1777, he buried old Father Meurin in St. Joseph's church at Prairie du Rocher, and remained, himself, from that time until 1788 the only member of his calling within the broad domain of the Illinois Missions. In 1778 he was sent by Colonel George Rogers Clarke to Vincennes, to win that people over to the American cause. It took him just three days to conquer this English stronghold on the Wabash and the key to the situation in the West. He captured it not by fire and sword, but by the well-known disinterestedness of his personal character, his long-proved zeal for the people's true welfare, and the eloquent voice of his patriotism.[11] He visited the place again in 1779, when he spent between three weeks and a month there; sometimes at the Post itself

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[9] Reverend Julian Duvernai, S. J., was pastor at Vincennes at the time the Superior Council of New Orleans adopted its edict against the Jesuits and was dragged to Kaskaskia and thence down the Mississippi with Father Watrin and the others to be sent to France. *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 70, p. 281.

[10] *Gibault to Bishop Briand*, June 15, 1769, Archives of Quebec, p. 249.

[11] See as to Winning of Vincennes, ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW.

but the greater part of the time along the headwaters of the Wabash among the Weas, Piankeshaws, Peorias, Miamies and a hundred other nations constituting the once famous League of the Wabash. The League had been the ally of England against France. Gibault succeeded in securing its allegiance to Clarke and the Commonwealth of Virginia. Father Gibault's time between 1779-1785 was occupied at home, from Kaskaskia to Cahokia. During this period it is assumed by some that he visited the various groups of Indian fires south of Green Bay and clustered about the base of Lake Michigan, comprising the Chipaways, Ottawas, Pottawattomies, Musessogies, Puans, Sacks and Foxes, Sayges, Tauways and Maumies. This, however, is but a plausible conjecture.

Up to this time Father Gibault's headquarters had been Kaskaskia. But in 1785 he removed to Vincennes. Why I could not say certainly. But I would rationally conjecture that by the change he sought to live more central to his growing work in Illinois, without prejudice to the older parishes on the Mississippi. These could now be readily and regularly attended by the Spanish curates of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve, permitting Father Gibault to live nearer to the scattered portions of his flock in the northwest and north. He remained at Vincennes until the advent of Bishop Carroll's Vicar-General, Reverend Huet de la Valiniere, in 1788. After the advent of this clergyman, he retired for a year to Cahokia, and later, spending a brief space once more in Vincennes in 1789, he went back to Kaskaskia. He lived a year in Kaskaskia, and thence crossed the river to New Madrid. He was at New Madrid until the close of 1792, when he traveled south to Post Arkança. He was on the Mission of the Arkança a full year, leaving that post February 15, 1793. He returned to New Madrid, where he died eleven years later, as assistant to the resident pastor, Reverend James Maxwell.

The Spirit Animating Gibault

From this cursory glance at the missionary travels of Pierre Gibault we see that the territory covered by his ministry was immense, considering the miserable facilities for transportation in those days. His powers of Vicar-General, in the first place, extended, like those of Meurin, from Mackinac on the north to New Orleans and Mobile on the south, and while his active ministrations did not, as far as we can gather, reach Mobile or New Orleans, they embraced all the old French forts and Indian missions, on the St. Joseph, in the

vicinity of South Bend; Fort St. Louis and Fort Crêve Cœur, on the Illinois River; Ouiatenon and Fort Vincennes, on the Wabash; Post Arkança, on the Arkansas; Fort Chartres, on the Mississippi; Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, La Salines, Old Mines, Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, St. Philip, Cahokia and all the Christian Indian camps that traversed the broad and luxuriant savannahs that reach out over the great commonwealths of Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Kentucky, or were hidden within the pathless fastnesses of the somber timber vales of Michigan and Wisconsin. All this empire of then practically savage people he traveled time and time alone, now afoot, now in a *calêche* or cart, but ordinarily in canoes or a horseback, with the utensils of his sacred ministry in saddle-pouches behind him, his gun across the saddle-bow, and a belt about his waist, with pistols and bowie-knife. For the frontier priest went armed. He lived on game, and, moreover, he might, at any moment, be called upon to defend himself against some wild beast, and always to protect himself against the otherwise unawed Indian thieves and murderers, as well as against the white ruffians who then infested as they do yet infest our Western frontier. And yet these extensive fields of labor exhibit but the time and space of his activity. They do not reveal the apostle; they do not tell us of his pains and hardships; they do not show what courage he possessed, how unselfish he was, and how unremitting he continued to be in the discharge of his arduous stewardship. He alone could say here what no other being but his God could know—what spirit animated all his life. And he has said one word. In it we read volumes of his worth. For his was the fate of all great men. He was slandered and accused of giving scandal. With honest indignation at the charge, he writes to his bishop: "How can I, in all the pains and hardships I have undergone in my different journeys, winter and summer, to points the most separated, attending so many villages, so distant from each other, in all weathers, night and day, snow or rain, wind, storm or fog on the Mississippi, so that I never slept four nights in a year in my own bed, never hesitating to start at a moment's notice whether sick or well; how, I ask, can a priest who sacrifices himself in this way with no other view than God's glory, and the salvation of his neighbor, with no pecuniary reward, almost always ill-fed, unable almost to attend to both spiritual and temporal; how, I again ask, can you know that such a priest, zealous to fulfill the duties of his holy ministry, careful to watch over his flock, to found them in the most important tenets of religion, to

instruct the young unceasingly and untiringly, not only in Christian doctrine but in reading and writing; how can you know that he is one who gives or has given scandal to his people.'"[12] These forced expressions of his own merits not merely uphold the integrity of his toilsome life, but they further establish its apostolic character.

Herbermanns on Father Gibault

The Herbermanns' view[13] of Father Gibault may be gathered from the following passages from their study:

When the young priest arrived at Cahokia, for which mission he seems to have been intended, he found the old mission property, church, residence, barns, orchards, in short everything rapidly going to ruin and the outlook for the future gloomy. Father Meurin was still at Kaskaskia, some seventy-five miles south of Cahokia, and a place far better provided with means for carrying on missionary operations. On the arrival of Pierre Gibault the aged Jesuit without any hesitation surrendered his comparatively comfortable home at Kaskaskia to the new missionary and retired to Cahokia, where he was received with the greatest affection by the French settlers. But even Kaskaskia was no bed of roses for the younger priest. We must here recall the fact that, only some five or six years before, in 1763, as the result of the Seven Year's War, Canada and the northern French possessions, which included the Illinois country, had been turned over by France to England. This change of government, always the source of disorder even in civilized countries, produced even greater disorganization in these distant outposts of civilization. The task of controlling these unruly frontiersmen and inducing them to fulfill their religious duties was a source of constant labor and worry. But Gibault was not only a pious and zealous pastor of souls but a man of great energy. Though disabled for weeks by Western fever, his work soon bore fruit. Every night he assembled the faithful for prayers in the church and four times a week he instructed the adults in Catholic doctrine. In 1769 most of the parishioners fulfilled their Easter duty. His flock included, besides the French Creoles, a part of the soldiers of a detachment of the

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[12] Original text and English translation published in Vol. V, *Illinois Historical Collections*, pp. 534-47.

[13] See note 3.

Eighteenth (Royal Irish) regiment and most of the neighboring Indians, who had been converted by the Jesuit Fathers.[14] It is needless to say that parishioners made up of such elements were the cause of much trouble, anxiety, and labor to the young priest, but he soon gained their good will by his attention to his duties, his frequent instruction to the young, whom he even taught to read and write, and by his regular preaching. Of course, he did not confine his attention to the faithful of Kaskaskia; he was constantly traveling from place to place. In 1770 we find him in old Vincennes, a post nearly one hundred miles to the east of Kaskaskia, where he purchased a site for a chapel upon which, however, he did not build until some fifteen years afterward. In the same year he also crossed the Mississippi and blessed a small frame chapel at Paincourt, better known under the present name of St. Louis. Here, where in consequence of the Seven Years' War the Spaniards bore sway, although most of the inhabitants were French Creoles, and at St. Genevieve (also west of the Mississippi and under Spanish rule), he seems to have been as active as in the Illinois country. In this way he spent about eight years incessantly on the alert, seldom sleeping in his own home and often saying his breviary in the glaring sun or by the side of a smoking camp-fire. The population made up, as it was, of roving Indians, hunting and fur-trading Creoles, haughty Spaniards and speculative Americans from the East, all disposed to quarrel and all provided with guns and knives, were not of a character to make his ministry agreeable. When brawls and murders were of daily occurrence we may well believe the good man's statement that even his life was often exposed to danger. If this was true in the early years of his missionary work it was even more true of the years which followed the withdrawal of the British troops from the Illinois country in 1776. Withal Father Gibault was not a mere roaming missionary, as we see from the letter written by him in 1786[15] to Bishop D'Esglis. Pierre Gibault had with him at Vincennes, where he then resided, a library of serious, mostly theological, books which he had probably accumulated in the course of his ministry. This fact indicates that he was a man of scholarly instincts and literary taste who took his vocation as teacher of the faithful seriously.

The hardships undergone by this saintly pioneer priest may be

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[14] Shea, *Life of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 126, citing letter of Gibault to Bishop Briand, June 15, 1769. "Pennsylvania Packet," October 5, 1772.

[15] Published in full in *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. V, pp. 534 to 547.

imagined from a passage in one of his letters. He visited Canada in 1775 and reached Michilimackinac on his return in September and waited there for suitable weather to proceed upon his journey. There being no improvement, he left Michilimackinac in November, retracing his way to Detroit, steering the canoe which was paddled by a man and boy who had never before made the trip. In constant peril of the ice and in great suffering, he finally arrived at Detroit from whence he wrote the Bishop: "The suffering I have undergone between Michilimackinac and this place has so deadened my faculties that I only half feel my chagrin at being unable to proceed to the Illinois." Even in that lamentable condition, however, he thinks only of duty. "I shall do my best," he writes, "not to be useless at Detroit and to relieve the two venerable old priests who attend it."[16]

Gibault's Later Years

Our narrative shows that the old Canadian missionary, during the last years of his activity in the Illinois country, was beset by many awkward difficulties. The unsettled condition of ecclesiastical affairs in Illinois after 1783, his undefined relations to the Church authorities at Quebec and at Baltimore, and the generally disturbed state of the country, made his position uncertain and uncomfortable. His relations to the political authorities in Canada and the United States helped to complicate his troubles. A more diplomatic and tactful man might no doubt have avoided many of the shoals and whirlpools which wrecked Father Gibault and cast him on the Spanish bank of the Mississippi. But the simple missionary had to depend on his native wit to steer him through his sea of troubles. Only a few days after his ordination, when in experience he was but a raw youth, he was sent away to learn practical wisdom among drinking and tomahawking savages, half-civilized *coureurs de bois*, swindling and lying Yankess, and fanatical Spanish blackguards. With all his youthful simplicity, he was probably wiser than any man among his surroundings and could learn from them neither prudence nor knowledge. It is astonishing that a man such as he, in the midst of wars and rumors of wars, entrusted with the guardianship of a helpless body of people, deprived of the feeling of patriotism by recent conquest, uninspired by confidence in the new friends who needed their assistance, had wisdom and boldness enough to follow

[16] *Gibault to Bishop Briand*, December 4, 1775, quoted in Shea, *Life of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 130.

the path which an impartial judge would today prescribe for him. He guided his flock through turmoil and danger, counseling them so as to escape ruin and death without openly revolting against the British. Young, quick, energetic, and bold, the descendant of French forefathers who had only recently been conquered by the English, naturally filled with a love of liberty which was the heirloom of the native American, when every native American had to provide for his life and living and thought little of the suzerain beyond the ocean, what wonder that Father Gibault should become the friend of Colonel George Rogers Clark and his helpmate in his daring enterprise? Judge Law of Vincennes, three-quarters of a century ago, declared that the Great Northwest was won and secured for the American Union by Colonel Clark, Mr. Vigo, and Father Gibault, and every American who appreciates the value of Gibault's share in the taking and re-taking of Vincennes, the influence he exerted on those of his race and his faith by giving them an example of self-sacrifice and of generous support of the soldiers of struggling Virginia, and his manly readiness even at the risk of his life to aid by his presence the agents of the American cause, would readily endorse the verdict of the historian of Vincennes.[17]

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

[17] In the next paper we will discuss the unjust treatment and false charges to which Father Gibault was subjected.

THE BEAUBIENS OF CHICAGO

An Interesting Letter from One of Them

I will commence with the Beaubien or Cuillerier family of Canada and Detroit, Michigan.[1]

Ancestry

René Cuillerier, the first of the family mentioned in the Canadian archives, was the son of Julien Cuillerier and Julienna Faifen of Clermont, near La Fléche, France. René was born in Clermont in 1640, came to Canada a young man and married Marie Lucault, at Montreal, April 13, 1665. It is said that he was a companion of Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, and the founder of Fort Cuillerier at La Chine, Canada, where he was an interpreter.

Their second son, Jean Cuillerier, was born November 2, 1670, married Marie Catherine Trotier at Batiscan, May 3, 1696, had several children.

Their seventh child, Jean Baptiste Cuillerier, was born at La Chine, January 6, 1709, and married, January 26, 1742, Marie Ann Lothment Barrios at Detroit, daughter of François Barrios and Marie Ann Sauvage. The bride was then sixteen years old. She died November 8, 1809, aged eighty-four years.

It is not known that Jean Cuillerier ever came to Detroit, and if he did visit the place it was probably after the birth of his youngest child. The date of his demise is not given in Tanguay, but it is there

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[1] This interesting letter was written by Frank G. Beaubien, a son of Mark Beaubien, still living at 5737 Race Avenue, Chicago, now in his sixty-ninth year of age. The writer was born in Naperville, Illinois, on one of the occasions when his father was living there with his family, on June 21, 1851. He became a member of the police force of Chicago forty-five years ago. Was a patrolman ten years, a sergeant five years and lieutenant in the office of the Chief of Police for twenty-two years. Since severing his connection with the police department he has lived in quiet retirement but has always taken a deep interest in public affairs, is a keen observer, and has an excellent memory. He has always been active in the interest of the Chicago Historical Society, of which he is a member, and early became a member and valued friend of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society and the Illinois Catholic Historical Review. He is a devout Catholic, a member of the Knights of Columbus, Phil Sheridan Council, and states that practically all of the Beaubiens and their connections were and have remained Catholics.

noted that his widow, Marie Catherine Trotier, married François Marie Picote Sieur de Belestre in 1712, but the place of marriage is not given. The members of the Cuillerier family in this generation took the name of Beaubien. Some of them were called "Beaubien *dit* Cuillerier," others simply "Cuillerier," while all of them in the course of a few years became known as we now know them by the name of Beaubien.

The wife of Jean Cuillerier was Marie Catherine Trotier, and her brother Michael was Sieur de Beaubien, and it is probably from this incident that this name was attached to the family. He lived at *Trois Riviers,* Canada, and it is possible that the children lived with him after their father's death.

Antoine Cuillerier *Dit* Beaubien, brother of Jean Baptiste Cuillerier *Dit* Beaubien, was an officer in the Detroit Militia in 1756, his daughter Angelique (she is the heroine of Miss Crowley's novel "The Heroine of the Strait") married James Sterling, who was collector of the King's Revenues, surveyor of the district, military store keeper, official interpreter, and also held several other positions in the department at Detroit during the Revolutionary War.

Jean Baptiste Cuillerier Dit Beaubien became a citizen of considerable importance in Detroit and it is remarked in the church records that when he died August 30, 1793, there was a great concourse of people at the funeral and that two priests, Fathers Frechette and Dupaux, officiated. He was the father of fourteen children.

The seventh child, Joseph Beaubien, was born in Detroit, March 20, 1752, and married March 10, 1777, Josette Bondy, daughter of Joseph Bondy, Captain in Militia at Le Assumption, and Josette Gamelin. He died in Monroe, Michigan, March 6, 1821. They had ten children.

The third child, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, was born in Detroit, September 5, 1787, and the youngest child, Marc or Mark Beaubien, was born in Detroit, April 25, 1800. Both came to Chicago, Illinois, to live. Their names are frequently mentioned in Chicago's early history.

Jean Baptiste Beaubien

Jean Baptiste Beaubien went to Mackinac, Michigan, at an early age where he remained for a while working for the American Fur Company, and he made trips to Chicago as early as 1802, buying furs from the Indians. Then he came to Chicago to live for a while, then went back to Mackinac and came back to Fort Dearborn right after

the Massacre of 1812. He arrived in the spring, bringing his two sons, Charles Henry and Medore Benjamin with him.[2]

While in Chicago before the Massacre he married an Indian woman by whom he had a daughter named Marie.

In the church record at Detroit is an entry to the effect that Marie Beaubien was born in Chicago in 1805, lived with Louis Genereux at the Grand River of Lake Michigan, and there Lucille was born on March 12, 1827. They came to Detroit and were married there July 28, 1828, recognizing their child as legitimate. This Marie must have been the daughter of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, for he was the only person by that name in Chicago at the time of her birth.

There is a further church record that Marie Beaubien, daughter of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, an "Ottawasse Libittoit," aged about twenty-three years old, was baptized at Detroit, July 28, 1828. Louis Campau was the god-father.

Jean Baptiste Beaubien's first wife was Mah-naw-bun-no-quah, an Ottawa Indian, sister of the Chief Shabbona. Shabbona died July 17, 1859, near Morris Falls, Illinois, aged eighty-four years. He was a great friend of the whites and if he had been in Chicago at the time he would have prevented the Fort Dearborn Massacre.

Mah-naw-bun-no-quah died in 1812. It is not imporbable that she was the mother of Marie mentioned above. Her other children were:

Charles Henry Beaubien, born in Grand River of Lake Michigan, 1807; died March 11, 1858, at Grosse Pointe, Illinois, aged fifty-one years. He taught school in Chicago in 1829 and had five children.

Medore Benjamin Beaubien, born July 15, 1809, at Grand River of Lake Michigan.

Charles Henry Beaubien and Medore Benjamin Beaubien were sent to Princeton College. After their graduation from college, Charles Henry taught school in Chicago in 1829 and Medore Benjamin

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[2] There is some uncertainty as to the exact time when Jean Baptiste Beaubien came to live permanently in Chicago. The writer of the above letter says that it is a firm family tradition that he came in the spring immediately after the Fort Dearborn Massacre, which would fix the date as 1813. It is frequently stated that Antoine Ouilmette and Alexander Robinson were the only men in Chicago in 1813 and 1814. (See note 29, page 58, this number.) Beaubien evidently came here soon after the Massacre and had his son Medore with him as appears from the statement by Medore contained in the letter above. In any event Jean Baptiste Beaubien was the first substantial permanent white resident of Chicago.

became the first merchant in Chicago and also was clerk of election held in Chicago in August 2, 1830, the poll list containing thirty-two names; also one of the first trustee's present at the first Town-Board meeting which was held in Chicago, Monday, August 12, 1833, at Mark Beaubien's Tavern, the Sauganash, southeast corner of Lake and Market Street.

In speaking of Medore Benjamin Beaubien, Hon. John Wentworth said: "I met Medore at Washington a few years ago, where he attracted great attention for his remarkable personal beauty. He joined the Pottawatomi Indians in Kansas and settled with them on their reservation near Topeka and was chief and interpreter for them. He then moved to Silver Lake, Shawnee County, Kansas. At the time of his death he was Mayor of Silver Lake. He died December 26, 1883.

"After Mah-naw-bun-no-quah's death Jean Baptiste moved to Chicago with his two sons in the spring of 1813, because I have heard Medore Benjamin, one of his sons, tell about his father taking him and his brother Charles and his stepmother Jossette La Framboise over the ruins of Fort Dearborn after the Massacre of 1812."

Jean Baptiste Beaubien remained here and became the first citizen, which has not been credited to him. John Kinzie did not return to Chicago until about 1816. Jean Baptiste Beaubien, when he arrived here, was buying furs from the Indians for the American Fur Company, also he made trips here as early as 1802, buying furs from the Indians. Jean Baptiste Beaubien and his second wife, Jesette Laframboise, had been married in Mackinac before coming here. She was the daughter of François Laframboise, Sr. Her mother was a half-breed Indian of the Pottawatomi.

Josette was living with the Kinzie family before and at the time of the Massacre of Fort Dearborn. She made her escape with the Kinzie's.

Josette Laframboise Beaubien was a second cousin to Joseph Laframboise who was living at Mackinaw and whose daughter, named also Josette Laframboise, married Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin K. Pierce, a brother of President Franklin Pierce, when he was in command of Fort Mackinac, about 1815-16.

Jean Baptiste Beaubien was one of the sixteen witnesses to the signing of the treaty with the Indians in 1821. The compact was made by Lewis Cass and Solomon Sibley as commissioners with the Ottawa, Chippewas, and Pottawatomi.

Jean Baptiste Beaubien was commissioned Justice of the Peace

September 10, 1825, for Peoria County at Chicago (now called Cook County.) The Clerk of Peoria County, Illinois, writes that his earliest records commence March 8, 1825. From these records I learn that John Kinzie was commissioned Justice of the Peace July 28, 1825. He was the first Justice of the Peace resident in Chicago. Alexander Walcott, his son-in-law, and Jean Baptiste Beaubien were commissioned September 10, 1825. The clerk also sent me copies of two poll-books used at Chicago, one at an election held August 7, 1826, containing thirty-five names; the other at an election held August 2, 1830, containing thirty-two names; thus showing a decrease of three voters in four years.

The judges in 1826 were John Kinzie, Jean B. Beaubien, and Billy Caldwell. The clerks were Archibald Clybourne and John K. Clark. The election was held at the Agency House (called "Cobweb Castle") in Chicago Precinct, Peoria County. The Agency House was on the north side and was the second house built in Chicago, the house John Kinzie lived in being the first. The Indian Agent was Dr. Alexander Wolcott, who died in 1830. He was a son-in-law of John Kinzie and his marriage was the first one in Chicago. It occurred in 1823.

The judges in 1830 were Russell E. Heacock, the first lawyer to settle in Chicago, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, and James Kinzie. The clerks were Medore B. Beaubien and Jesse Walker. The election of 1830 was held in the house of James Kinzie, Chicago Precinct, Peoria County. This house was on the West Side, near the forks of the river. The South Side had no status at that time, there being nothing then on that side except the fort and lighthouse building and the log houses of the two Beaubien brothers and of Medore B. Beaubien, son of Jean B. Beaubien, who kept a store on South Water and Dearborn Streets; one brother residing at the Lake shore and one near the forks of the river with such a marsh between that much of the time their most convenient way of visiting each other was in boats on the river.

The names of voters in 1830 indicate the influx of Americans of different racial origin, among them one Irishman, probably the first Irishman who ever trod the Chicago soil.[3] His name was Michael

[3] Several writers have said that Michael Welch here spoken of was the first Irishman in Chicago. He was no doubt the first Irish-born permanent settler and resident, which of course is a distinction worthy of claiming, but there were several others of Irish nationality here prior to Welch as shown by the records of the government and of Fort Dearborn garrison and otherwise. The first act in the location of Chicago was the establishment of Fort Dearborn by Captain John

Welch. What have our many Irish aldermen been thinking of that they have never given us in honor of this early permanent settler a Welch avenue, or Welch street, or Welch school-house? He was a discharged soldier, and having faithfully served out his time he stopped long enough to vote the straight Jackson ticket and joined Captain Jesse Brown's Rangers.

Whistler in 1803. Whistler was the first white man to dwell upon the site which was first officially named Chicago. True, Marquette and the two Frenchmen who accompanied him had remained within what is now the limits of Chicago for four months as early as the winter of 1674-5. Frenchmen had touched here often and there was perhaps a French post here at an early day. A French woman, Madam La Compt, is said to have lived here with her husband and family in the middle of the eighteenth century. The colored man, Point du Sable, lived here some years. He was succeeded by Le Mai and there is a tradition of a De Guary. Antoine Ouilmette is known to have been in the neighborhood of what is now Chicago as early as 1790, but when Captain Whistler came here and established the fort, he and the white men he brought with him were the only white men in the territory that is now included within the city of Chicago. It seems fair, therefore, to say that Whistler and his men were the first Chicagoans.

Captain John Whistler was born in Ireland and he had with him several men of Irish birth or blood. Very soon after the establishment of the fort, several Irishmen were here. Thomas Burns and Charles Lee, who resided in the second and third houses respectively on the north side of the river, adjoining the old house that Point du Saible or Le Mai built, and that John Kinzie bought in 1804 when he came here first, were Irish, and probably Liberty White, who lived on Lee's farm on the south branch of the river called "Hard Scrabble," was Irish. These men and some of their families were killed in the Fort Dearborn Massacre. A very distinguished Irishman in the person of Matthew Irwin was the Government Factor here in 1810. William Caldwell, the son of an Irish colonel in the English army and a man of merit, was here as early as 1812 and became a resident in 1816.

A goodly number of the members of the garrison at Fort Dearborn at the time of the Massacre in 1812 were Irish. Amongst them may be mentioned: Ensign George Rowan, Sergeant Otho Hayes, Sergeant William Griffith, Corporal Thomas Forth, Fifer John Smith, Drummer Hugh McPherson, Drummer John Hamilton, Privates James Corbin, Phelim Corbin, Dyson Dyer, Daniel Dougherty, John Fury, Samuel Kilpatrick, Michael Lynch, Hugh Logan, Duncan McCarty, John Smith, and John Simmons.

Welch was, however, a very early and a worthy resident. He came here some time between 1816 and 1820 and bought 160 acres of land from the government with hard cash he brought with him. He had been a soldier in the service of the United States government and soon became a soldier again. He was the pioneer of a very worthy Irish Catholic family that has done honor to Chicago ever since and was a credit to his race. The story of Michael Walsh, as he was more frequently called, is being prepared for publication in the near future in the columns of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW and we predict it will prove of great interest to our readers.

I also have the assessment-roll of John Bogardus, assessor of Peoria County for the year 1825, dated July 25th.

The entire valuation, land then being not taxable, of all the property in Chicago was $9,047, and the rate was one per cent. But the property of the American Fur Company was assessed to John Crafts, its agent, at $5,000. He was a bachelor and died the next year and Mr. Kinzie was appointed in his place. Deducting the American Fur Company's assessment we have only $4,047 as the personal property of Chicago in 1825, $40.47 as the tax, and thirteen as the number of tax payers.

On December 8, 1829, Archibald Clybourne, Samuel Millar and Jean B. Beaubien were appointed as the first school trustees. Jean Baptiste Beaubien was elected president of the Debating Society about 1830. The Militia of Cook County was organized in 1834 by electing Jean B. Beaubien as colonel at the tavern owned by Barney H. Laughton near Lyons on the Desplaines River, now Riverside, then kept by Stephen J. Scott. He was commissioned Brigadier-General in 1855 by the Governor of Illinois. The first piano brought to Chicago was by Jean B. Beaubien about 1834, also the first carriage, and one of his oldest daughters, Monique, was sent to Detroit to be educated in a convent.

Josette Laframboise Beaubien, wife of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, died in 1845 at Desplaines, Illinois. From this marriage twelve children were born. The first one, George Beaubien, was born in Chicago in 1814, and died in 1829. All of the children from this marriage were born in Chicago.

General Jean B. Beaubien's third wife was Catherine Louise Penney. They were married in 1855. She was twenty-seven years of age at the time of her marriage. She came from New York City. She had four children from this marriage.

General Jean Baptiste Beaubien died at Naperville, Illinois, January 25, 1863. He was buried at the old Beaubien family burying ground at Naperville, January 27, 1863.

Catherine Louise Penney Beaubien died in Chicago, December 30, 1910. She is buried at Forest Home, Chicago. Her son, Isadore Beaubien, is the donor of the epauletts worn by General Jean Baptiste Beaubien in the Fort Dearborn case at the Chicago Historical Society library and museum.

Mark Beaubien

Marc or Mark Beaubien, born April 25, 1800, at Detroit, Michigan, who was a brother of General Jean Baptiste Beaubien,

married Monique Nadeau, March 13, 1817, at Monroe, Michigan. She was seventeen years of age at the time of her marriage. They had six children born in Monroe and their names are—Josette, Mark, Oliver, Joseph, Emily and Soliston. They moved to Chicago in 1827, Soliston then being the baby. He was born in 1826. It is known by all the family that Soliston was nursing when they came to Chicago and that the father came here first to visit his brother in 1826. His oldest son, Mark, Jr., became a merchant in Chicago in 1836. His ninth child, George W. Beaubien, was the first child baptized a Roman Catholic in Chicago on May 22, 1833. Monique Nadeau Beaubien had sixteen children by their marriage. She died at Naperville, 1847.

Mark Beaubien's second wife was Elizabeth Mathieu, who was born in Quebec, Canada, March 6, 1817, daughter of François Mathieu. They were married at Aurora, Illinois, September 3, 1848, and had seven children by their marriage. Mark Beaubien was adept on the violin and he aroused the spirit of the pioneers with dances at the Sauganash Tavern in the thirties.

Mark Beaubien on June 8, 1830, got his license to keep Tavern at the Sauganash. He named the Sauganash after Billy Caldwell, whose Indian name was Sauganash. Archibald Caldwell was the first one to reecive a license to keep Tavern on December 8, 1829, and Mark Beaubien and Alexander Robinson got their licenses on the same date, June 8, 1830 (which comes next to Caldwell). The Sauganash Hotel was at the corner of Lake and Market Streets. Rovinson tavern was on the west side of the river near Caldwell's. Samuel Miller afterwawrds had a tavern on the north side of the river and east side of North Branch near the Forks.

In the spring of 1834 he sold the Sauganash to John Murphy, who continued the hotel, and John Wentworth boarded there in 1836. Then Beaubien bought a small brick house that stood at the northwest corner of Lake and Wells Street from Archibald Steele, which was the first brick house in Chicago. Mr. Steele made the brick himself. He sold the house in the spring of 1834 to my father, Mark Beaubien, who added on a frame addition. Mark called it the "Illinois Exchange". He did not keep the hotel very long. He then rented it and moved across the street. Then again he moved to Kishwaukee, near Rockford, Illinois, and stayed there a short time, then came back to Chicago in 1840. He finally traded the Illinois Exchange to Richard Sweet for a farm of 260 acres at Naperville, Illinois, where he kept Tavern and Toll-gate for the Chicago Plankroad in 1841.

Mark Beaubien moved back to Chicago in 1854. He was

appointed lighthouse keeper. The lighthouse stood where the Rush Street Bridge now stands on the south side of the river and on the west side of the bridge. The stone house connected to the lighthouse, and which belonged to the government, stood east of the bridge and extended part way into the river the same as the lighthouse. I remember when the river was being enlarged, one corner of the stone house which we were living in at the time gave way and next morning we moved to the north side on Pine Street near Ohio Street. The lighthouse was abandoned and the government built a new lighthouse and residence for the keeper in 1856 or 1857.

Father resigned as keeper about 1858. I remember the ferry that crossed the Chicago River where Rush Street Bridge is now located. One morning a vessel struck the rope which guided the ferry, loaded with laborers going to work, capsized the ferry boat and several were drowned. I was standing on our fence near the edge of the river and saw them bring in the bodies; this was about 1856. The new lighthouse was built at the north pier at the mouth of the river.

After father resigned as keeper he moved back to his farm at Naperville in 1859. Then he moved back again to Chicago in 1862 and kept the Fort Dearborn Hotel on River Street near Rush Street Bridge, where Hoyt's Wholesale Store stands.

Father was always a jolly fellow and a good entertainer. I have often heard him say that when people came here in the early thirties and saw Chicago but a mud hole and swamp, they would get discouraged and wanted to go back East. He would tell them that Chicago would be a great city and would show them all the advantages for it and coaxed some of them to stay here. He would then give them a lot and tell them to pay for it when they could or he would give them a lot free. This is one of the reasons he was so beloved by the pioneers of Chicago.

He also kept the ferry at Lake Street and the South Branch of the Chicago River about 1831. He also built the first frame house, "The Sauganash Hotel," in Chicago. The first Mass that was said here by an ordained priest of the Roman Catholic Church was by Father St. Cyr and was held in a small house adjacent to the Sauganash, owned by Mark Beaubien. I have copies of two letters received from Father St. Cyr by Hon. John Wentworth in 1880, which I insert here:

CARONDELET, MO., January 19, 1880.

John Wentworth.

DEAR SIR—I must in the first place thank you for the pamphlet you had the kindness to send me, and in which I found several names of persons with whom

I was well acquainted: for instance, Mr. Mark Beaubien and also Medore B., the Taylors and others. As to the questions proposed in your letter, I will answer them as briefly as possible. I was born in France on 2d November, 1803, in the Department of the Rhone, in the Archdivision of Lyons. My classical, philosophical and theological studies I also made in France. But in the beginning of June, 1831, I left my native country for America. My destination was St. Louis, Mo., where I arrived on the 1st day of August, 1831; and after eighteen months spent in the study of the English language, I was ordained priest on the 6th day of April, 1833, by the Rt. Rev. Rosati, first Bishop of St. Louis. Twelve days after, I was to Chicago, Ill., by the same Bishop: at which place I arrived on the 1st of May, 1833. I was received by Mark Beaubien who gave me a kind hospitality for over a year. Immediately after my arrival I set to work to build a church, which was completed for divine service about the middle of October, 1833. I had no predecessor, for I was the first Catholic priest that ever resided in Chicago. My immediate successor was Father B. Schaeffer, who came to Chicago in November, 1836, and remained with me until I left again for St. Louis on the 17th of April, 1837. Rev. B. Schaeffer (who died soon after) had as successor Father O'Meara, who was succeeded by the Very Rev. Maurice de St. Palais, afterwards Bishop of Vincennes. He remained as pastor of the English-speaking congregation in Chicago until the appointment and consecration of Very Rev. Quarter as first Bishop of Chicago. As to the records of baptism and marriages, I left them in the hands of the above named, Rev. B. Schaeffer.

I remain, dear sir, your most humble servant,

J. M. I. St. Cyr.

From this it appears that although the Methodists had Rev. Jesse Walker and Rev. Stephen R. Beggs, and the Presbyterians had Rev. Jeremiah Porter here before Father St. Cyr came, yet to him should be credited the erection of Chicago's first church building, which will be remembered by many of our old settlers.

(Continued in October number)

Frank G. Beaubien.

Chicago.

Illinois Catholic Historical Review

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COMMENDATION OF MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP GEORGE W. MUNDELEIN

This publication is one we can be proud of. It is gotten up in an attractive form and its contents are interesting and instructive. I have been complimented on it and have heard it praised in many quarters. * * * The Society should receive encouragement from every source, and all who possibly can should enroll in its membership. * * * I need not add that your work has not only my blessing, it has my encouragement. It has every aid I can give it.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

An Objective—Reports from the seat of war during the last few years have made us familiar with the term "objective". Every army move had an objective, and so we have learned to talk of our civilian affairs when directed to a given end as having an objective.

In this sense the objective of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY is a subject of interest; what may we hope to accomplish and when may definite stages along our road of progress be expected to be reached?

With respect to the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, the answer to these inquiries can be quite definitely given. Concerning the REVIEW, our objective is the publication of a strictly first-class historical quarterly, permanently maintained at the high standard set by the first volume just completed. Stages of accomplishment will be marked by the completion of each succeeding volume and their finding a place on the shelves of high-class libraries and collections throughout the State and country.

We think it will be conceded that this alone is a worthy and worth-while objective, and there may be those who would be content with this alone.

We are convinced, however, that there is a need for something more which the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY is peculiarly adapted to provide, and that is a concrete body of authentic history. And as we see it, the presentation of the history of the Illinois country in a manner to do justice to the Catholic aspect of such history involves two quite extensive works which may be termed (1), Sources; and (2), Narrative.

Under "Sources" should be gathered all reliable data of a documentary nature having a bearing upon the Catholic record as it has been made during the

progress of civilization in the territory. This data consists mainly of four classes: 1, the writings of the early discoverers, missionaries and explorers, some of which are to be found reproduced in the *Jesuit Relations* and others in other publications; 2, parish and other records; 3, letters and reports of later missionaries and travelers such as are to be found in the Annals of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and of the Leopoldine Association; 4, letters, documents and files of the several diocesan archives, churches, colleges and other institutions.

Coming now to the "story": We would find that both an interesting and an extensive undertaking. It would seem both advisable and feasible to divide such a work into five or six volumes: Volume one of which might cover the Church in Early Illinois for the period from 1673 when Father Marquette first visited the region to 1844 when the Diocese of Chicago was organized; volume two, the History of the Chicago Diocese; volume three, the History of the Peoria Diocese; volume four, the History of the Alton Diocese; volume five, the History of the Belleville Diocese; and volume six, the History of the Rockford Diocese.

Needless to say, both of these works, Sources and Narrative, should be both exhaustive and entirely reliable and should be published as scientific works without the slightest element of local or other coloring.

Here then are two sets of books aggregating ten volumes, and the question naturally arises: How can such an undertaking be successfully accomplished and when can the work be completed?

In answer to these inquiries it may be suggested that with respect to the source books, the work of gathering together documents and letters that have been published here and there can be rather expeditiously done, and with some organization all of the source matter can be collected within a reasonably short period. As the story depends largely upon the sources, it will necessarily await to a certain extent the completion of the source books.

The entire Mississippi Valley from Canada to New Orleans and from the Alleghenies to the Rockies is interested in the publication of such a source work as we have indicated. Catholics throughout that entire region should assist in the production of such a work. Catholic Historical Societies where organized, and each state at least should maintain a Catholic Historical Society, should participate in this work, and there can be no question but that a projected work of that kind can be sold upon a prospectus on subscription for a sufficient sum to pay for its publication.

Regarding the story or history proper, an arrangement would seem feasible by which volume one might be prepared and published independently, and each of the other volumes prepared and published by the diocese it represents, all to be uniform, however, and under the superintendence and editorship of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society.

Now as to the completion of the work: April 11, 1925, will be the 250th anniversary of the establishment of the Catholic Church in the Illinois Country, the foundation of the Church in the entire Mississippi Valley. This generation of Catholics will hardly witness a more important anniversary. What would be more appropriate as a memorial of such a period in our history than an authentic record such as the history we have outlined would constitute?

If, therefore, by effective organization, so as to bring into play the energies

of not alone our own society, but that of all Catholic societies, clubs and organizations and all Catholics in general, we can during the nearly six years ending in 1925, maintain our quarterly at its present splendid standard, put it on a sound financial basis so that it may continue uninterrupted, and also put in enduring form the evidences upon which our record is based and the story of progress to that time, we will have accomplished a most meritorious objective.

Undoubted Permanence the Aim of the Society—Feeling that the necessity and practicability of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY and the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW published by it have been demonstrated by the signal success of the past year, the chief solicitude of the founders and promoters is for the permanence of the society and its work.

Sufficient funds being one of the essentials of permanence, plans have been laid to provide and accumulate the funds necessary, not only to carry the present running cost of the work but as well to guarantee the future of the organization. These plans contemplate an endowment fund of $50,000 to be invested in interest-bearing securities, the income from which will be available for the work of the society.

The net income of a fund of this size would not be sufficient to pay all of the current cost. Indeed, it would pay but about one-half of the running expenses; and the remainder must be met by current income, which seems easily possible even according to our experience of the past year.

One-half of this permanent fund will be provided by men of means who are willing to guarantee this undertaking, several of whom have already pledged themselves accordingly. The remainder of the fund will be made up of smaller donations of which the society has already received over one hundred.

Needless to say, only the safest investments will be considered for this fund, such as bonds or mortgages on Catholic church property or government, state or municipal bonds.

Every reader is an agent for the solicitation and accumulation of this fund and everyone interested in the objects of the Society is solicited to help in the creation of the fund.

Now for the Record—Catholics and the Church have been making history in Illinois for nearly two hundred and fifty years. Now let us write it down.

On June 17, 1673, the devoted Jesuit Father Marquette and his sterling Catholic companion Louis Jolliet pushed their frail canoe into the waters of the Mississippi River just above the northern boundary of Illinois and became the discoverers and explorers of the Mississippi and of Illinois. On April 11, 1675, the same Father Marquette, in fulfillment of a promise so to do, established the Catholic Church in Illinois. Since those days the Catholic Church has been the one ever-present witness and participant of every development in this territory and State. None other, therefore, is so well qualified to attest the story of that development, and in the history of the Church here will be found the history of the State so intertwined that neither can be properly and truthfully told without the other.

The plans are laid for telling this wonderful story of two and a half centuries. A special organization has been formed to have immediate charge of

the work, namely, the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY, under the approval and direction of the Hierarchy of the State, and all Catholics and all Catholic Societies have been invited and urged to co-operate in the work, that we may have the story in all its details by the occurrence of the 250th anniversary of the planting of the Church.

The invitation to join in this work is meeting a hearty response. Already numbers of the clergy and laity have come to the aid of the movement and the first year of the work has closed with splendid success. Eight thousand copies of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, a publication that has been pronounced by competent critics to rank with the best historical periodicals, have been distributed and a great deal of historical matter and data has been collected.

The Catholic Societies have begun to make their co-operation practical by affiliating with the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY and appointing representatives to help gather historical data. At its meeting on May 12, 1919, the *Illinois State Court Catholic Order of Foresters* adopted resolutions of affiliation and making a contribution toward the expense of the work, and on Tuesday, May 13, 1919, the *State Council of the Knights of Columbus* adopted resolutions of affiliation and a quite complete program for helping in the historical work. The stage of action has not yet been reached by other societies and clubs, but all are interested in the work and will do what they can to forward it.

Let us all get together and put this great work "over the top" by 1925, as we have been "putting over" the big war work for which Catholics may justly claim a large measure of credit.

Momentous History in the Making—While the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY is in no sense a news gatherer or reporter, it can appropriately take note of great events that are certain to be written into history. Such are the leading facts and moves in relation to the great world war now nearing final adjustment.

Statistics of the great struggle will be found more appropriately elsewhere and will be more reliable at a later date. The big outstanding facts are all that may be definitely stated and dwelt upon now. The details will be supplied by reports and records that are not now easily available.

It will be of interest to record, however, that we have lived through the progress of the most stupendous war in the world's history. That the magnitude of this world cataclysm surpassed the wildest human conception of war. That the dead of the war are counted in the millions and that the destruction of property was simply appalling.

There is some comfort, however, in recording that the World War has been ended by an understanding in which for the first time in all history the principal nations of the earth have joined and prepared covenants of mutual agreement the purposes of which are the prevention of war and the regulation of the affairs of nations on the same principles of justice and morality as those of individuals.

The possibility of the defeat of this understanding or of its failure to bring about the desired results does not take from the understanding itself its historic

character. The World War and the Peace Conference with its deliberations and its results will go down in history side by side as the greatest world events to their respective dates.

It seems proper to record also that the movement for the settlement of what has become known as the "Irish Question" has gained such an impetus that it must lead to the disenthrallment of that unhappy people. In all the years, even centuries that the friends of Ireland and her own maltreated sons and daughters groaning under oppression have asked for justice no such a universal favorable response has been made. It would seem now that Great Britain must do justice to her weaker neighbor or stand condemned at the bar of the world.

The long-suffering Poles and other oppressed nationalities are to have their freedom, and it is inconceivable, if we are entering upon the "New Day" of which we have been told and for which we so ardently long, that Ireland alone should remain enslaved.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Era of the Civil War. *Volume III of the Centennial History, by Arthur Charles Cole of the Univeristy of Illinois, Clarence Walworth Alvord, Editor-in-Chief. Published under the auspices of the Illinois Centennial Commission.* Springfield, Ill., 1919.

Volume III of the Centennial History of Illinois is from the press and is uniform with volume II heretofore noted in these columns. Volume I has not yet appeared, but is said to be in a forward state of publication.

These volumes should be extremely interesting, especially by reason of the fact that they are the product of a scientific and systematic effort at writing the history of the State by persons specially selected for the purpose, selected expressly because of their fitness on account of training as students or teachers of history.

The writers of these volumes have been afforded every facility for the preparation of their manuscripts. The source material of the world has been placed at their disposal and no expense has been spared to secure whatever material would assist in the work. There have been none of the handicaps from which the private writer or investigator must suffer. Everything everywhere was open to them and every aid and convenience furnished them. If the volumes are excellent it is a demonstration that good use was made of the opportunities afforded as well as that the writers were able and competent.

The merits of the books in this series have been commended in these columns and it can be frankly said that Volume III is a better piece of book writing than Volume II and immeasurably better than the introductory volume, *Illinois in 1818.* However, a protest is imperative against a noticeable neglect of the Catholic record and against the unjust attitude displayed toward the Irish in the State's history.

It may be asked, "What did you expect? Did you think that history could be written for any particular religion or nationality or modified to please classes or to suit circumstances?" No. It is freely admitted that history is a statement of facts and that facts cannot be modified. But here is the concrete indictment of the volumes of the Centennial History of Illinois so far written, as regards things Catholic: Catholics and the Catholic Church have been practically ignored. Although there never was a time in the history

of Illinois when the Catholic Church membership in Illinois did not constitute a very large percentage of the population of the Territory or the State, more at some times than all of the other churches combined,—yet the space given it is infinitesimal as compared with that given other churches. Although at all times the Catholic has been active in every educational and charitable work, frequently doing more than all other church organizations combined, he gets little or no mention.

The present volume has two chapters that deal with religion, namely Chapter X, *Church and School,* and Chapter XX, *Religion and Education.* In Chapter X nine pages are given to a description of the work of the churches, and the wonderful progress of the Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Lutherans and Episcopalians is detailed. The Catholic Church gets two mentions as follows: "The Chicago of 1850 with twenty-six institutions representing almost every denomination from Catholic to Swedenborgian, freethinkers to Orthodox Jews, was known as the 'city of Churches.'" (p. 245). Again: "The Catholic Church was gaining steadily in the larger cities from the heavy immigration of Irish and foreign Catholics. The Right Reverend James Oliver Van de Velde was installed as successor to Bishop William Quarter as Bishop of Chicago in 1848, but gave way five years later to Bishop Anthony O'Regan; neither of these, however, aroused the enthusiastic co-operation of the clergy or laity. The See of Quincy was established in 1852, followed in 1857 by the erection of the episcopate of Alton. At the close of the decade the Catholics established the *Western Banner* as their organ at Chicago." (P. 248.) The first Catholic paper published in Chicago was the *Western Tablet,* not *"Banner,"* and the first issue of it was dated January 31, 1852.

Chapter XX contains this reference: "The Catholics made progress in spite of the contentions that developed under the later years of Bishop Duggan's administration. Over one-half of the population of Chicago was Catholic; yet those included almost entirely persons of foreign birth or parentage since the increase was largely the result of immigration. One of the problems of the Church was to Americanize the congregations; the Irish, however, often objected to the assignment of a priest who was not himself an Irishman.

"The Catholics labored not only under the difficulty of internal heterogeneity but also of external criticism. In 1867 considerable anti-Catholic feeling developed in Illinois when the Reverend J. G.

White, of Jacksonville, a fearless champion of Protestantism, went about the state lecturing on 'Romanism'. In Quincy he was disturbed at his first lecture and actually prevented by a hostile mob from delivering the rest of his series there. Mayor Pitman, a democrat, was appealed to for protection, but he instructed the City Marshal to prevent the lecture; Governor Oglesby, however, declared that the right of free speech should be maintained. White as well as several other radical Protestant ministers continued to give his lectures in the following years with the result that disturbances took place at Bloomington in 1868 and in Springfield in 1869." (Pp. 425-6.)

That and nothing more of the Catholics of Illinois from 1848 to 1870. There were Catholics but they were foreigners. Their bishops didn't arouse enthusiasm. They had internal differences and most important of all "Reverend J. G. White [Where now is White?] . . . *a fearless champion of Protestantism*, went about the State lecturing on 'Romanism.'" And the Catholics really objected in some places, objected to his slanders of defenseless women and his brazen falsehoods as to Catholic teachings and practices. A "democratic" Mayor was appealed to and didn't sustain White, but Governor Oglesby "declared the right of free speech should be maintained." These were the big outstanding historical facts relating to Catholics and the Catholic Church in Illinois during a period of twenty-two years and the only ones worthy to find a place in this comprehensive history.

Much as this work is to be admired and though we are loath to complain, it must be said that this treatment of an important element of the population of the state is indefensible and unpardonable. Detailed comment would be superfluous.

But what of the Irish? The authors of these volumes so far published have included a few lines in each book about the Irish and have perhaps considered that they have themselves said nothing derogatory of the Irish. What reference they have made has been largely by way of quotation. One may wonder just why the particular quotations, instead of thousands of others that were available, were used. To go back a little, read the quotation Mr. Buck uses on page 165 of his *Illinois in 1818*. Mr. Buck says that "John Mason Peck, Baptist missionary, after a survey of educational conditions in Missouri," said amongst other things: "Not a few drunken, profane, worthless Irishmen were perambulating the country, and getting up schools; and yet they neither speak, read,

pronounce, spell, or write the English language." That was John Mason Peck, whose bigotry was well-known to Buck and everyone else who has read anything of the early days of Missouri and Illinois when and where he flourished. Peck was, however, talking of Missouri. On his own account and responsibility Mr. Buck says: "The situation in Illinois was very similar." It should be noted that this gratuitous insult was by order of the Centennial Commission cut from the plates of the volume and the private edition of the book does not contain it.

It is interesting to look at Dr. Cole's quotations in the present volume and one will again wonder why he selected just these from amongst hundreds of others that would seem just as apropos. In Chapter I, *Passing of the Frontier,* Dr. Cole is telling of the several racial elements and especially of internal improvements and after speaking of the Irishman possessing "two strains, sometimes combined in the same individual," he says:

> But to the people of Illinois the Irishman more often appeared in another guise. To them he was pictured as the noisy, quarrelsome, seeker after excitement, who found it in the company of John Barleycorn, in bloody street brawls, and even in the lower depths of crime. When an overwhelming majority of the visitors at police court were repeatedly reported to be Irishmen, it was not surprising that the public should make such adverse deductions. [As authority for this paragraph Mr. Cole cites *The Aurora Beacon* of September 14, 1848.] "The common practice of contemporary journalists was reflected in the point raised," says Mr. Cole, "by the Chicago *Tribune,* December 23, 1853: 'Why do our police reports always average two representatives from "Erin, the soft Green Isle of the ocean" to one for almost any other inhabitable land on the earth? Why are the instigators and ringleaders of our riots and tumults, in nine cases out of ten, Irishmen?' " Proceeding, Mr. Cole says: "There followed a report of a riot at La Salle and the murder of a contractor by a set of Irishmen. The *Tribune,* aroused to the point of approving action under lynch law [says Mr. Cole] declared: 'Had the whole thirty-two prisoners that were taken been marched out and shot on the spot, as the citizens did the Driskels in Ogle County some years ago, the public judgment would have sanctioned it at once!' " (p. 22.)

So much for the quotation and Dr. Cole's way of putting it. His remarks anent the matter should be given, too, in justice to him. Apropos of these newspaper impressions Mr. Cole says:

> A more careful analysis, however, revealed a situation that scarcely warranted such a superficial judgment. The railroad contractors were often shrewd schemers and hard men who sought to impose upon the ignorant Irish laborers and to direct matters to their own advantage. Palpably unfair treatment was

almost certain to arouse the temper of the hot-headed Irishman. As it was, however, thousands quietly submitted to conditions upon the public works that brought death or ill health from exposure to miasmi, bad accommodations in camps and shanties, and from improper diet; when sickness fell upon them they were discharged and turned loose upon the world. It is to be remembered, moreover, that the Irishmen who drew the fire of public criticism were largely members of the sturdy band of humble toilers, brutalized by the religious and political oppression and economic exploitation of their native Ireland, and in this land of opportunity which they had so eagerly sought deprived of contact with the finer forces.

The sense of all of which is quite obscure, but, let us hope, stated with good intentions.

From other quotations in this volume we learn that there was such a man as James Shields in the State. Shields was elected to the United States Senate and not all of the papers were pleased. In a footnote on page 63 the *Southern Advocate* is quoted: "When such men as McClernand and Breese are beaten by an arrogant, vain, ignorant, *lying* Irishman, it is high time that all men who respect their characters should retire in disgust from the political arena."

During the period treated in this volume the matter of education was being worked out and there was some difficulty in securing competent teachers. A choice quotation is used by the author on page 239 as bearing upon the subject of selecting instructors:

"Do you propose to fill the professorships with bogtrotters from Tipperary in the same way that you fill the police and the post offices?" (Quoted from the *Illinois State Journal*, April 15, 1859.)

Mr. Cole did find that there were some Irish in the Civil War, at least some of them enlisted. After stating that the Germans were very active he says: "The Irish were not to be outdone. In a week's time they organized in Chicago The Twenty-third Illinois, otherwise called the Irish Brigade, which was accepted as an independent regiment under Colonel James A. Mulligan. Irish companies from Springfield and Rockford also tendered their services. The following year the 'Cameron Guards' were recruited at the capital, while the 'Ryan Guards' from Galena and other companies were being organized for a Chicago regiment. The 'Irish Legion,' the Nineteenth Infantry, was mustered into service at Chicago in the late summer of 1862." (p. 281.)

And that is all the mention the Irish get in connection with the Civil War. There are a few things wrong with what *is* said, as for example the order of precedence. Mr. Andreas in his *History of*

Chicago tells us: "The Shield's Guards was the first Chicago Company that took measures to offer its services to the Government." This offer was made on January 14, 1861. (Andreas, Vol. II, p. 161.) Again, Mr. Cole makes quite a serious mistake in referring to the "Irish Legion". It was the Ninetieth Infantry instead of the Nineteenth. Of course the most serious complaint against Mr. Cole in this connection is his omissions. He tells us nothing about the gallant record of Shields and Mulligan, never mentions General Michael Kelly Lawler or his Eighteenth Infantry, amongst the very first to be mustered into the service, ahead of any Chicago regiment. This is the General Lawler of whom General Grant said: "When it comes to just plain fighting, I would rather trust old Mike Lawler than any of them." Nor does he mention the gallant Colonel William F. Lynch and his McClellan Brigade, the Fifty-eighth Infantry. It may be answered that he wasn't writing a history of the Irish. That is true and quite evident.

But Mr. Cole does say still more about the Irish. He manages to find several items of interest concerning the Irish in politics and also in relation to the Fenian movement. The Fenian movement was strong in Illinois and Mr. Cole treats it sympathetically. He remarks upon its popularity as follows: "Oddly enough there was little criticism of this attempt to accomplish by force, in spite of American neutrality regulations, what might more lawfully have been attempted by political methods." (p. 345.) He sums up the movement as follows: "After the fiasco certain Republican papers were ready to confess their 'infinite disgust and contempt for this whole Fenian business;' but before the attempted invasion, the only clear-cut opponent of the Fenian brotherhood was Bishop James Duggan of the diocese of Chicago, who placed it under the ban of the Church against secret societies. So formidable had been this Irish movement that no attempt was made within the state to check it. The democrats commended the zeal for liberty displayed by the Fenians and heaped encomiums upon the Irish, while the Republicans saw no propriety in opposing it. Governor Yates and the State officers graced with their presence Fenian entertainments in Springfield and noticed invitations to other celebrations with letters of regret commending the principles of the organization." (Pp. 345-6.)

There will perhaps be some disagreement as to what Mr. Cole says of the Irish Republicans and their origin. He says that although the Fenians disclaimed political affiliations "yet it was known that the organization served as a powerful auxiliary to the democratic party."

He says, however, that a misstep of the Chicago *Times* caused some dissatisfaction and the Republicans took advantage of the rift created. "A recruiting agent for the republican party was found in John Pope Hodnett, a talented young Irish orator, who had participated in establishing the Irish Republic in Chicago to further both the Fenian cause and the republican party." So, now we have the Fenians as both a Democratic and Republican adjunct. "Shortly before the election of 1868," says Mr. Cole, "came the first significant break in the Democratic solidarity of the Irish voters. The continued harping of the Republican press upon the 'tyranny' to which the Irish tamely submitted in the Democratic party—the clever insinuation that a small and corrupt native minority blandly exploited them to get into office —fanned into a blaze the smoldering discontent of the more restive Irishmen. They beheld certain attractions in the Republican party with its fetish of freedom for the oppressed and with its anti-British tariff policy. In July, 1868, Hodnett, assisted by Alderman Arthur Dixon and J. F. Scanlan, organized an Irish Republican Club in Chicago to support the Republican national ticket. Such change in political alignment called forth a vigorous protest from the standpat Irish Democrats. The hall engaged by the Republicans was invaded by members of Irish Democratic clubs led by Aldermen Rafferty and Comiskey and a battle royal took place; in the *melée* stones, clubs, torchlights, and sling-shots were freely used and several persons were seriously wounded. When similar Republican clubs were organized in other cities they encountered the same hostility from the old-guard Irish." (P. 347.)

Thus prejudiced and exaggerated newspaper reports are made the basis of history and convey a false impression respecting an important element of the population.

In the particulars mentioned this book is unfair. It is unjust to publish and circulate at public expense a book as unfair as this even if there were but few Catholics or Irish in the state, and it is proportionately more unjust when there are one and a half millions of Catholics in the state and more than a quarter of a million of Irish.

Now, why should this book be written in just this way? There are several possible answers. Some may say because it is correct. The Catholics and the Irish got what was coming to them. None but bigots unable to judge of history and unqualified to write history would so contend. The writer of course will assert that considering the particular periods treated he has done his best to present the

outstanding features of the record of each element of the population. And finally it may be argued that other facts were not available. That nothing of greater importance relating to the Catholics and the Irish was found.

As this last suggestion is likely to be one upon which greatest reliance may be placed, it is worth while to again direct attention to the fact that all the information in the world was available to the writers of these books. If it were necessary to expend a hundred dollars or a thousand to get requisite information, such sums were available at every stage of the preparation of the manuscript. Did the securing of the information involve labor, study, research—any difficulty—the writers had the means at hand from the public treasury to provide what was needed and the time to allot to it.

It will be freely admitted that historical data regarding the Catholic Church and the Irish in Illinois is not nearly so conveniently available as is the data concerning many other subjects, but it may confidently be asserted that there is in existence more authentic source material regarding the Church in Illinois than there is with reference to any other facts that have a historical bearing. True, the quantity of such material is not uniform for all periods, but there has been no period of which there has been such an absolute dearth of materials as is indicated by the poverty of reference in Volumes II and III.

In spite of these facts these books show that convenient availability of materials has influenced their preparation. A single instance will suffice to illustrate. The Germans, their coming, their settlements, their activities in politics, in education, in music, their progress and prosperity all are elaborately set forth. No other topic commands nearly so much favorable and well-merited notice. But how comes it that the Germans can have page after page devoted to a recital of their part in the same transactions in which Catholics and Irish joined in the same period while the latter receive scant mention. The key may be found in what has already been suggested, easy availability of information. In 1909 the family of Gustave Koerner, in his lifetime Judge and Lieutenant-Governor, had his writings published in two encyclopedic volumes of more than seven hundred pages each. These volumes are filled with the achievements and activities of the Germans in Illinois. They abound in historical facts and data and cover completely the period of which Mr. Cole is writing in Volume III. They afforded him a mine of historical

material ready to hand, and the best evidence that he availed himself of it lies in the fact that he very frequently quotes from the pages of the work. In casually thumbing over the pages of Mr. Cole's book it is seen that Koerner is quoted and referred to in footnotes as many as twenty-six times in three chapters. The Germans in Illinois owe Gustave Koerner still another debt in addition to the many obligations they were under to him for all that he did in the world of activity of his day. Due to his writings, preserved and published by his people, the Germans of Illinois have been fairly written into the official history of Illinois.

This affords the Catholics, the Irish, and perhaps others in Illinois some food for reflection. It is not hard to point the moral. Who wants his light to shine should first ignite it, discard the bushel, and then give a little attention to the trimming of the wick.

It cannot for a moment be conceded, however, that mere difficulty in obtaining data—any difficulty, indeed, short of virtual impossibility—would justify the grossly inadequate treatment of Catholicity in these books under the circumstances of their preparation.

Having said all this about what must be considered serious faults in this latest volume of *The Centennial History of Illinois*, it is now only just to speak of the admirable features of the work. The treatment is in twenty-one chapters: I, The Passing of the Frontier. II, The Coming of the Railroads. III, Agitation and Compromise. IV, Prairie Farming and Banking. V, The Kansas-Nebraska Act. VI, The Origin of the Republican Party. VII, The Lincoln-Douglas Debates. VIII, The Election of 1860. IX, The Growing Pains of Society. X, Church and School, 1850-1860. XI, The Appeal to Arms. XII, Recruiting Ground and Battlefield. XIII, The New Abolitionists and the Copperheads. XIV, The Re-election of Lincoln. XV, Population in Wartime. XVI, The Industrial Revolution. XVII, Agriculture and the War. XVIII, Reconstruction and the Military Politician. XIX, The Spoils and the Spoilers, 1867-1870. XX, Reeligion, Morality and Education, 1860-1870. XXI, Play and the Press.

The verdict of readers of discernment with reference to Illinois' actual participation in the war will be, that the subject is dealt with rather lamely. Many will be glad, however, that the writer has not, as have many others, made history one long story of battles and war moves.

The outstanding feature of this volume is the masterly treatment of the political situation during the entire period. Mr. Cole's success in this field almost makes one regret that the parceling out of this official history was not done on the lines of subjects instead of by periods. Nothing yet published concerning the politics of Illinois and of the nation so far as participated in by Illinois is nearly so satisfying as the present volume. In his treatment of parties Mr. Cole has been admirably fair, and, despite the strong temptation to voice opinions, has kept entirely within the bounds of the true historian's purview. In doing this he has given us our best picture of the stirring times of which he writes and the best measure of the men of those tense days.

In the view of the entire field as given us by Mr. Cole we are able to weigh the political figures with an exactness not possible without a consideration of the details furnished by him. By their aid we see at a glance how Grant compared with all the other army officers in Illinois, what was the comparative standing of Logan, of Oglesby, of Palmer, of McClernand, of Yates and Trumbull. And especially the relation or position of Douglas and Lincoln as compared to each other and as to others in the state.

The view thus afforded brings out some facts that will be a surprise to many of the younger generations who have not heretofore had the opportunity of studying our leading men together, but who have for instance read of Lincoln or Grant or Trumbull alone, in volumes dealing with the biography of such men of note. It will, we think, show the reader that among the men politically associated with Mr. Lincoln there were several that were quite superior to him in many ways, especially in education as well as in depth, grasp, and, indeed, in intellect. That of the men so associated with Douglas there was none that approached him in any of the qualities of statesmanship or leadership. That he stood out from all others, not alone as the greatest man of Illinois but of the nation. The recognition of this fact enables us to explain how Lincoln became a great figure. And that explanation is that he became the recognized opponent, the counterpoise of the great Douglas. It transpired that he became associated in people's thoughts with Douglas and hence the logical man with whom to oppose Douglas. One will have little difficulty in believing that Mr. Lincoln recognized the value of being set over against Douglas and was clever enough to so maneuver as to get into that position. For that purpose Lincoln did not have to hold

exact and positive views on any particular subject and he could pose as a conservative when occasion suited. The one thing needed was to occupy the attention of Douglas and draw the fire of his opposition. If he could get Douglas to notice him, pick him out from the ranks of his enemies and opponents, he was made. This detracts nothing from Lincoln's real merits, of course, but it gives us a new appreciation of Stephen A. Douglas.

A time like that of which Mr. Cole was writing uncovers, in the political field especially, the strangest traits of character and is especially productive of intemperate speech and action. It is good that the record of such times be recalled from time to time in order to show what a ridiculous figure the ranter cuts and to warn men to speak and act with becoming moderation. Having learned to admire, not ot say almost worship Lincoln, we can hardly believe that he was made the subject of the vilest abuse conceivable, not by his political opponents alone but by his erstwhile proponents and champions. Many of those who came to espouse the cause of the slave, even if at the eleventh hour, and helped to elect Lincoln President, talked and acted as though they thought he should have freed the slaves before breakfast on the morning after his inauguration; and when he failed even to take advanced ground in his first annual message to Congress the radicals exhausted their vocabularies in abuse. The editor of the Chicago *Tribune* condemned the message as a piece of cowardice, "a horrible fiasco". Shubal York called it "a tame, timid, time-serving, commonplace sort of an abortion of a message, cold enough with one breath to freeze h-ll over." (P. 293.) John Russell of Bluffdale boldly denounced "the imbecility of President Lincoln" whom he accused of having done more to aid secession than Jefferson Davis. (P. 294.) Nor were these criticisms confined to lesser lights. Trumbull, Yates, Palmer and others joined in the hue and cry, and if all the critics were to be believed Lincoln was venal, corrupt, traitorous and generally despicable. "Democratic obstructionists on the one side and radical republicans on the other were convinced that Lincoln possessed 'neither consistency, statesmanship, nor resolution;' the latter, however, could ont subscribe to the partisan charge that 'even the claim set up for his honesty was absolutely unfounded and that the country has never before been afflicted with a ruler so absolutely destitute of integrity and principles.'" (P. 312.) "In handling the problems of the Civil War, President Lincoln had assumed certain powers which made his rôle quite as significant as that of a dictator in the days of Rome's glory. Without legislative

warrant and without precedent in American history, he had suspended the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, one of the dearest of civil rights in the minds of the American freemen. Even Senator Trumbull, the radical, openly condemned the imprisonment of citizens upon *lettres de cachet*, while General John M. Palmer declared that it would mean the conversion of 'this constitutional Republic into a despotism.' . . . He had recommended and officially approved, March 3, 1863, a conscription act which provided for compulsory military service by citizens selected at the turn of a wheel. These were only the principle features of a situation which made it possible for James Bryce to say: 'Abraham Lincoln wielded more authority than any single Englishman has done since Oliver Cromwell.' " (Pp. 312-13.) " 'There is hardly a provision of the constitution which the President has not violated or treated with contempt,' was the campaign slogan announced by the Chicago *Times*. The Cairo *Democrat*, July 14, 1864, took up the hue and cry with less restraint: 'When a President will thus put aside the will of Congress, what are the people to expect of him? The freedom of the press and the *habeas corpus*, the two great bulwarks of our liberty, ruthlessly invaded. And, last of all, the voice of the ballot box has been crushed, and 'military necessity,' that bloody and envenomed queen, has seized upon its holy precincts. Great Heavens! How much more iniquity will the freemen of America stand from the usurper and tyrant who is only fit to split rails.' . . . Lincoln's friend Herndon charged him with trying to put down the rebellion by squirting rosewater at it, while Jonathan B. Turner, the Jacksonville educator, condemned Lincoln for too much reading of the New Testament, instead of using the sword after the fashion of that Old Testament saint, Andrew Jackson." (P. 314.)

How strangely familiar much of this sounds, as if we were listening to the "leaders" or reading the press columns of 1917-18-19, with names only altered.

Readers of this volume will hope that the author will find time and take the opportunity of reviewing the political record of other periods of our history.

The chapters on "The Coming of the Railroads," "The Industrial Revolution," "Agriculture and the War," and "Play and the Press" are likewise very interesting and extremely well done.

J. J. T.

Illinois—The Story of the Prairie State. Centennial Edition. By Grace Humphrey. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1917.

The author of this volume has given us the most satisfactory short history of Illinois yet written. Gotten out as a Centennial book, it well performs the mission of making the reader acquainted with the historical features of the State. Naturally not much can be said of each topic or item in a book of 267 pages including notes, bibliography and index, but the writer has managed well to mention nearly all historical facts and to record them in a very readable and pleasing manner.

A delightful feature of this *Story of the Prairie State* is the manner in which it engages the interest of the young reader, especially in the more romantic features of our history (and the history of Illinois is most romantic), and then tells how to pursue the subject farther, naming the works and authors that tell the story in more detail.

For convenience as a textbook a set of questions relating to each chapter is appended. The book has none of the disadvantages of the ordinary school-book, the chief of which is prosiness. The narrative flows easily and maintains a constant interest.

For quick acquaintance with the principal facts of Illinois history this book can be unreservedly recommended.

M. A. R.

The Diocese of Belleville. St. John's Orphanage edition of the *Messenger*. Historical data by Reverend Frederick Beuckman, Belleville, Illinois. Belleville, Illinois: Joseph Nicholas Beuchler, Publisher.

Under date of March 1, 1919, there issued from the press of Joseph Nicholas Beuchler the handsomest and most meritorious special edition of a weekly paper we have ever seen. This special St. John's Orphanage edition of the *Messenger* contains 118 pages 11 by 15½ inches and is literally filled with interest.

Interspersed with the pictures of residents of the diocese of Belleville and business concerns of various kinds is a complete history of the Catholic Church in the diocese carefully prepared by Reverend Frederick Beuckman of Belleville.

This publication is of more than ordinary interest as the Church in Illinois had its permanent beginning within the present boundaries of the Belleville diocese and began its spread from the old town of

Kaskaskia (now but little more than a memory) in the northern part of Randolph County. Father Beuckman has made a very diligent study of the history of the Church in this part of the world and is surprisingly accurate in his work.

Students of history will be pleased to know that Father Beuckman has made preparations to publish the history interwoven in this special edition of the *Messenger* in book form with complete footnotes and that the same will soon be ready for distribution. It should be said, however, that the special edition is of interest to more than the people of the immediate neighborhood of the diocese of Belleville. The illustrations with which the big edition abounds are very interesting as in many instances connecting up the present dwellers of this historic region with the early settlers who were so prominent in the history of the province, colony, territory and state.

J. J. T.

Ireland's Case. Seumas MacManus; seventieth thousand, 1919. New York: The Irish Publishing Company, P. O. Box 1300.

Seldom is seen a book so well named as the little publication gotten out and so widely read under the above title.

What is all this talk of Ireland about? Yes, the Irish question has been up before often and much has been said and written about Ireland's wrongs, her hopes and her disappointments, but it is astonishing how little most people know of the facts and circumstances that make the Irish question such a burning one. *Ireland's Case* tells why.

A red-blooded man or woman will read *Ireland's Case* if afforded an opportunity. It is not a compilation of dry statistics, nor is it glittering generalities. The author has a pleasing and direct manner of dealing with his readers that holds one like a well-told romance. The facts set down are, however, stranger and more horrible than the writer of fiction would venture to detail.

What was Ireland before England came? What did Queen Elizabeth do to Ireland? Was there ever such a tyrant as Cromwell? How were the Irish industries destroyed? What were the "Penal Laws" and how were they executed? What is the "British garrison" in Ireland? What was the British brand of civilization as applied to Ireland? What was the "Parliamentary Union" and how was it brought about What was the nature of the English land laws and where on earth is there such a foul record as that of the "evictions?" What is the record of the last century? What is England's present-day system and practice? Has the leopard changed his spots?

These are some of the questions which are most satisfactorily answered in *Ireland's Case.*

SOME GRATIFYING LETTERS

The most gratifying of the many expressions of good will we have received is contained in the following letter from Mother St. Charles, of the historic Ursuline Convent in New Orleans. We took occasion to advise Mother St. Charles of our plans and hopes and asked the prayers of herself and associates. The following is her consoling reply:

URSULINE CONVENT

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, June 11, 1919.

Mr. Joseph J. Thompson, Editor-in-Chief of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, *917 Ashland Block, Chicago, Illinois:*

DEAR SIR—I hasten to acknowledge the grateful receipt of your appreciated letter, and to give you the consoling assurance that the community will this evening begin a novena for your special intentions.

Wishing you and your co-laborers the utmost success in all your laudable undertakings, and prayerfully hoping OUR LADY OF PROMPT SUCCOR will obtain from the Sacred Heart of her DIVINE SON the realization of our wishes in behalf of you and your noble work, I remain, dear sir,

Respectfully and gratefully yours,

MOTHER ST. CHARLES, *Prioress.*

PRAISE FROM THE DEAN OF LIVING AMERICAN HISTORIANS

URBANA, ILLINOIS, March 28, 1919.

Joseph J. Thompson, Esquire, 917 Ashland Block, Chicago, Illinois:

MY DEAR MR. THOMPSON—I have been amazed at the way in which you have been able to keep up the quality of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, and I note with pleasure that you are unearthing more and more material of Catholic history and making it known to historians. When the starting of the REVIEW was mentioned to me, I felt very doubtful about the possibility of success because I feared that you would have difficulty in securing contributions of the quality such a review requires. I am pleased to find that I was wrong in this and that you are in no danger of being forced to lower the quality of the contents by accepting poor articles. The ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY is to be congratulated on a most successful year of history. May it have many more.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) C. W. ALVORD.

Kind Words from a Co-Worker

St. Louis, Missouri, May 16, 1919.

My dear Mr. Thompson—My best congratulations on the completion of the first volume of the Illinois Catholic Historical Review. You certainly deserve great credit for the courage, tact and scientific spirit manifested in the publication of such a magazine of history. I am really proud of having been allowed to co-operate with you. I hope to be able in the near future to send you something of greater value than what I have sent heretofore.

Very sincerely yours,

(Rev.) John Rothensteiner,

Secretary, St. Louis Catholic Historical Society.

Praise and Benediction

Quincy, Illinois, April 1, 1919.

My dear Mr. Thompson—It was beyond any peradventure of doubt a most felicitous thought that inspired the founding of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society, together with the publication of its quarterly Review. When the subject was first brought to my attention, I hailed it with unqualified delight because for years past I had considered just such a move a most timely and important step to be undertaken by some capable Catholic men. It's a happy realization today. The good to be derived from its distant future years cannot be sufficiently computed at present. Scholars and historians of coming generations will appreciate and bless the efforts which this newly founded society has placed for its object, namely: "The study and survey of the Catholic history of Illinois and allied records, the collection of relics and mementoes, the creation of a Catholic library and museum—and the marking of historic sites of Catholic interest." Further delay in the execution of such a noble, unselfish purpose would have proved detrimental as time soon obliterates what today we hold dear and sacred. There are still a goodly number of venerable pioneer settlers in our midst, living witnesses of the struggling beginnings of parishes, towns and cities; their number, however, is fast decreasing and before long they will have been gathered to their fathers. With each and every one's demise, valuable historical reminiscences sink into the grave. It was, therefore, most timely and opportune that this society in question was organized. And what a sublime array of men both clerical and lay, some distinguished nationally, others locally, guaranteeing the success and permanence of the undertaking!

May God's bountiful blessing deservedly rest upon you and all who through this Catholic Historical Society try to advance the interests of Holy Church in this country.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) (Rev.) A. Zurbonsen.

A Highly Appreciated Estimate

Chicago, March 27, 1919.

Mr. J. J. Thompson:

Dear Sir—I have read with a great deal of satisfaction all the articles in the three issues of the Illinois Catholic Historical Review. I certainly think it fills a pressing want and should be encouraged by all lovers of truth.

Philosophical discussions are mere hit or miss (mostly miss) stabs at real truth; and so are also a good many other lucubrations. But impartial and correct representations of facts, with a background created by the spirit which is diffused by the supreme agency of Truth on earth for all ages and races, the Catholic Church, open up wide vistas for acquisition of correct principles and for correct conduct in all the spheres of knowledge and action in promoting the true welfare of our humbugged humanity in our times. The furtherance of historical knowledge of works accomplished in our own neighborhood by the promoters of the greatest work in the universe, the Church of God, should rank with the highest public educational work of Church or State and is more important than hundreds of other enterprises for the betterment of men. So important is history that the Scriptures are composed mostly of history, certified by the Holy Ghost, and one of the most important of the revelations of the saints since the Holy Ghost was poured out upon mankind is principally the history of the central Creature of the universe.

Facts touch the eternal Truth, directly or indirectly, and therefore the knowledge of facts is the sure guidance for attaining true insight into the mysteries of the universe. The Illinois Catholic Historical Review in its sphere is a promoter of such knowledge and pre-eminently commendable as such.

(Rev.) George J. Blatter.

Interesting Extracts

Permit me to congratulate you upon the very rich array of material presented in your journal. The excellent typographical form of the book and the beauty of the illustrations will recommend it to those who enjoy good book making.

Caroline M. McIlvaine, *Librarian,*
Chicago Historical Society.

I have noted with pleasure the favorable criticisms accorded your Historical Review by our Catholic press for I feel that every effort made along the lines you have followed deserves encouragement. The fact is that Catholics as a body have been altogether too negligent in the matter of their history, which when given its proper setting will more than compare with the data which our non-Catholic friends have at their disposal and which we antedate as a rule by many years.

(Rev.) John E. Kealy,
Lewiston, Maine.

Let me congratulate you on the splendid success of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. You have certainly set out to make us old historical folk in the East wake up and get busy. Will you please have *America* put on your regular list so that each issue will be noticed.

Yours very truly,

THOMAS F. MEEHAN, of *America* Staff.

My congratulations on the appearance and contents of Volume I of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. It is a credit to the Society and to the Editor. I was especially interested in Dr. Alvord's contribution on "Sources of Catholic History in Illinois". This is a field we are covering for Michigan in our forthcoming Bibliography of Michigan History.

GEORGE N. FULLER, Secretary and Editor,

Michigan Historical Commission.

I am too new in the field of American Historical activity to feel that my humble congratulations to you and to all who have been instrumental in starting this splendid work have much standing alongside of the many letters of hearty felicitation which your project certainly must have brought out; but scarcely anything has given more real stimulus to me in my charges than the realization that the good work is spreading. It is needless to add that all the help we can give you is yours at all times.

(REV.) PETER GUILDAY, PH. D.,

Managing Editor, *The Catholic Historical Review*, Washington, D. C.